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THE

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.

VOLUME XXI.

PART I.

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II.—*Memoir of Researches amongst the inscribed Monuments of the Græco-Roman Era, in certain ancient Sites of Asia Minor. By* JAMES KENNEDY BAILIE, D. D., *late* F. T. C. D., *and Lecturer of Greek in the University.*

Read June 26th, 1843.

PART II.

TEOS AND APHRODISIAS.

I. WHEN I last had the honour to address the Academy, it will be recollected, that I comprised within the memoir then submitted to its notice, a selection of the most remarkable details connected with the tituli which I copied from existing monuments on the Apocalyptic sites.* These I was induced, from the extreme degree of interest attached to their localities, to consider in one and the

* The mention of these tituli suggests a subject which might appear to be well worthy of discussion in a separate memoir, but is here adverted to, for the sake as well of the correction of antecedent statements, as of the additional illustration which it involves.

I refer particularly to the observations made in my first Memoir on the eighth and twentieth of my series of inscriptions.[a]

The marble on which the former of these was engraved was found by me in so dilapidated a state, as nearly to preclude all effort to decipher the characters. Accordingly, in offering the explanation I have done, I was forced to proceed in the way of conjecture much more than I could have wished.

From this embarrassment I have been lately in a considerable degree relieved, by my having had an opportunity of consulting the work of De Peysonnel, which concludes with an account of a visit he made to Thyatira and Sardes, nearly a century ago, and contains a number of inscriptions which the learned traveller had copied from monuments in those sites, amongst which is the very titulus[b] which has occasioned me so much trouble; I say not *loss of time*, because even the transcript which I was enabled to make has enabled me to present my readers, in a work especially de-

[a] Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. xix. pp. 132–5, and 149, seq.

[b] See De Peysonnel's *Voyage à Thyatire*, subjoined to his work, *Observations Historiques, etc.* p. 346.

ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM OXFORD

same series, and was therefore compelled either to dispatch with a comparatively slight notice, or wholly to pass over, the inscriptions of other sites which I visited in my progress, yet meriting, from the archæological allusions which they contain,

voted to that purpose, with a precise representation of the characters of the original monument, as also with some readings which the transcript of De Peysonnel has but imperfectly preserved.

The first thirteen lines of this titulus are, with some exceptions, tolerably distinct in the copy which he has published, thus giving us some more precise insight than we could otherwise have attained into the date and purport thereof, as also making us acquainted with certain names, which, in consequence of their similarity of termination, I had referred to Trajan.

It now appears that the titulus dates considerably posterior to the time of Hadrian, or the Antonines, to which I felt disposed to refer it, the Christian epoch of the Indiction being mentioned in the fifth line, which, as is well-known, commenced with Constantine the Great,[a] and a distinct notice having been preserved of the Emperor Flavius Leo in the mutilated fragment which constitutes the nineteenth.

The name of Patricius[b] also, one historically connected with that of Leo, has been preserved, in conjunction with two others of inferior note,[c] but with terminations such as very naturally to induce a supposition in the mind of any one who viewed the inscription in its present state, that either Trajan or Hadrian were mentioned in the seventh and following lines. Nor was this persuasion lessened in its force from Sardes' being designated, as it unquestionably is in the fifth line, as *twice Neocore*, an appellation essentially heathen, and which led me to think of anything rather than a Christian origin or date in the case of this titulus.[d] But so it is. The document refers to certain public works that had been going on in Sardes under the sanction of the proconsular edict, and refers to accusations which had been preferred either to the Proconsul or the Emperor himself against certain persons who had been intrusted with their management.

Beyond this point the notices are exceedingly meager and unsatisfactory. The impression on my mind is rather of surprise than the reverse, that De Peysonnel, inspecting it at the time he did, when the marble must have been vastly less injured than it is at present, did not turn it to better account. So far was that from being the case, that he transmitted his copy to the learned body in Paris with which he was in correspondence, expressing at the same time his despair of any useful information resulting from his labours.

I have entered at considerable length into the details of this subject in the appendix of my work on the Inscriptions of the Apocalyptic sites,[e] and have given to the public in as intelligible a form as

[a] Viz. A. D. 312. See Petavii, *Rationarium, etc.* P. I. lib. vi. p. 247.

[b] See, amongst other authorities, Evagrii *Hist. Eccles.* 11, 16. c.

[c] Namely, L. Aurelianus, and M. Histrianus, vv. 7, 8.

[d] See Eckhelii *Doctr. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 117. The true solution of this apparent inconsistency appears to have been an attachment to their ancient superstitions yet lingering amongst the higher classes of the Sardians, and which the animosities that then prevailed among the Christians could hardly fail of augmenting.

[e] Vid. *Auctarium*, pp. 153, ss.

a no less degree of attention from those who are capable of appreciating their importance.

I could the whole of De Peysonnel's copy of this monument. I found it impossible, however, to extract from the chaotic jumble which he has left us from the fourteenth line throughout, any consistent series of notices. I endeavoured, but could not succeed to my satisfaction, to effect a more complete restoration of the whole. The utmost that can with any degree of probability be inferred from the monument in its existing state is, that it comprised a series of specific regulations as to the execution of certain works in Sardes, with which a committee of overseers had been charged, by virtue of an edict issued by the Proconsul, or a rescript on the part of the Emperor, and that such a course had been rendered necessary in consequence of the contractors' neglect of duty, and certain obstructions that had been thrown in the way of the commissioners by parties, doubtless, who were interested in their failure.

I now proceed to my observations on the second of the Pergamene inscriptions, or the twentieth of the series which are shortly to be published.

I have expressed an opinion in my former Memoir, that the subject of this titulus was the Emperor Hadrian, and on this hypothesis I proposed certain readings in the passages where the marble from which I copied it had sustained more or less injury from age and the tools of the workmen, who had employed it for their purposes.

I have, since the reading of that paper, reconsidered the subject in another point of view, with the help of the readings which I committed to writing on the spot, and the result has been a titulus coordinate to that which the travellers Smith[a] and Spon,[b] who have preceded me in that route, copied in the Acropolis of Pergamus, relating to a personage of consular rank, Julius Quadratus, who held many and distinguished offices in the reign of Trajan.

His name will be found mentioned in the Consular Fasti in conjunction with Julius Candidus, in the eighth year of Trajan, and U. C. 858.

If this view be correct, it will be necessary to inquire how far my readings sanction such changes in the titulus of which I have offered a translation in my first Memoir, as will adapt it to the circumstances of Quadratus, or in other words, present a counterpart to the remarkable inscription with which Smith has furnished the learned author of *The Acts and Monuments of the Arval Brothers*, towards illustration of his celebrated work.[c]

That this can be done, no one who bestows attention to the readings I have given can deny. It appears, moreover, from Smith's titulus, that Quadratus had been *Proconsul of Asia* and Trajan's *Pro-prætor of Syria;* that, so far, there is a correspondence between it and the inscription which I copied. But, in addition to these and other offices, he is mentioned in the former as having been invested with the sacerdotal ones of *Septemvir of the Epulones*, and *Frater Arvalis*, and these can likewise be elicited, with a few unimportant changes, from my original series of readings.

[a] See his *Survey of the Seven Churches of Asia*, p. 214.

[b] See *Voyage, etc.* Tom. i. p. 328. Edit. de la Haye, 1724.

[c] *Degli Atti e Monumenti de' Fratelli Arvali, etc.* Vol. i. tab. lvii. p. 176.

I now resume my details, with reference to certain of these omitted notices, and therefore, geographically at least, beg leave to conduct my learned auditory over the same ground which they have already traversed in my company.

This is, from *Smyrna*, by the way of the site of *Teos*, to *Ephesus;* from thence, through the passes of the *Messogis* to the site of *Tralles;* then, along

It were out of place, on the present occasion, to expand these notices into the particular details which they involve. This I have done in a work which I hope shortly to present to the public, in the appendix of which I have entered at considerable length into the examination of this subject.[a]

All that remains for me to do at present is, to subjoin a translation of my Pergamene titulus, on the basis of this new view of its reference, and collateral to my former version, which bore directly on the subject of the *vexata quæstio* of Hadrian's adoption by his predecessor.

This version is as follows:

Aulus Julius Quadratus
Proconsul of Pergamus,
And Pro-prætor
Of the Emperor Nerva
Trajanus, Cæsar, Augustus,
Germanicus, Dacicus, of Syro-
Phœnicia, Commagene; Septem-
Vir of the Epulones; formerly
Frater Arvalis of the Antiocheans
In the region of the Chrysorrhoatæ:
The Senate and People of the Pergamenes (have honored)
Through Apollonius Dionysius * * * *
And Malchio, and Cephalio
Artemidorus, and Dionysius
Demetrius, the Son of Amyntas * * * * *

The Greeks had no words in their language, or, to express myself more accurately, no officer in their sacerdotal institutions, corresponding to the *Septemviri Epulonum*, and the *Fratres Arvales;* they were therefore compelled to adopt the Latin terms, as nearly at least as the peculiarities of their language would allow. Thus, lines 7–9 of the above, conformably to the version I have given, appear as follow:

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * ΣΕΠΤΕ
ΜΟΥΙΡΑ · ΕΠΟΥΛΩΝΟΥΜ · ΦΡΑΤΡΕΜ.
ΑΡΟΥΑΛΕΜ · ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ. κ. τ. λ.

This, in the first arrangement which I have given in my collection of tituli, and which was

[a] Vid. *Auctarium*, p. 191, ss. The work here alluded to has recently issued from the University Press, under the following title: *Fasciculus Inscriptionum Græcarum, quas apud sedes Apocalypticas chartis mandatas, et nunc denuo instauratas, præfationibusque et notis instructas, edidit* Jacobus Kennedy Bailie, S. T. P. etc.

the course of the *Mæandrus*, leaving that of *Nysa* to the left, to the point where its stream is crossed on the way to *Antiocheia in Caria*. From this I deflected in a southerly direction, along the valley of the *Mosynus*,* to visit the site of *Aphrodisias*. I then,

"Willing, yet with unwilling mind,"

retraced my steps to that of *Antiocheia*, leaving the splendid Cadmian range,

partly suggested by the remarkable medal cited by Eckhel[a] from the Cleves Museum, wherein Hadrian is styled *Cæsar*, and is called by the name of *Trajanus*, presents a different aspect:

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * ΣΕΒΑΣ
ΤΟΥ · ΝΕΡΟΥΑ · ΥΙΩΝΟΝ · ΦΡΑΤΡΙΕΑ.
ΝΕΡΟΥΑ · ΔΗΜ · ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ.[b] κ. τ. λ.

Whichever of these explanations of the monument under consideration may be regarded as the more probable, an advantage is gained by the student, whether of history or of archæology. The second throws additional light, as I have already remarked, on the question of Hadrian's adoption; the first adds a new record to those which Marini has so laboriously collected in illustration of his work on the Arval Brothers, and occupies a rank coordinate to that of the titulus of Smith and Spon.

* This is mentioned by Pliny, v. 29, 6, where the readings vary from Orsinus and Mossinus to that here given. The Turkish name is يكيشهر-چاى, *the river of Yény-shehir*, the representative of the ancient Antiocheia on the Mæandrus.

[a] Vid. *Doctr. N. V.* vol. vi. p. 473.

[b] A question arises here, into the discussion of which I have entered at some length in my work referred to above, p. 89, ss. and *Auctar.* p. 194, relative to the Antiocheia here styled ΕΝ . ΤΩΙ . ΧΡΥΣΟΡΟΑΤΩΝ. The evidence of history and of medals, in which Hadrian's name appears so closely connected with the capital of Syria, would lead us to conclude that the Antiocheia of the Orontes in the one alluded to here; but the difficulty is, that it is no where to be found described as in the territory of the Chrysorrhoatæ. It is true, that it might, in a certain sense, be so denominated, as the Orontes has its source in the neighbourhood of the Chrysorrhoas of Damascus; but this appears strained.

I have stated in my note on this passage in my *Fasciculus Inscriptionum* that we have also our choice of Edessa, or Antiocheia of the Osrhoenes; but this appears to be untenable on historical grounds, as Edessa did not come into the hands of the Romans until the age of Caracalla.

Probabilities are therefore in favour of some city of Asia Minor being here intended. Of these, the Pisidian Antiocheia appears to have been too remote from the Mæandrus and the Hermus, of which the Lycus and the Pactolus, each also called Chrysorrhoas, were respectively tributary streams; but not so Tralles, one of whose names was Antiocheia, and the Carian town mentioned in my note (*ubi supra*) as in the neighbourhood of the Mæandrus. These may, from their undoubted vicinity to the rivers Chrysorrhoæ, have been denominated as in the region of the Chrysorrhoatæ, as also Hierapolis of Phrygia, one of the coins of which exhibits ΧΡΥΣΟΡΟΑΣ on the reverse; but I have no where been able to find that Antiocheia was one of the names of this latter city.

The reader may consult on these points, Eckhel. *Doctr. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 155. Rasche, *Lexic. Univ. Rei Numm.* vol. ii. p. 274. Plin. v. 29, 6.

and the field of Lycian research in my rear, one in which I should gladly have borne a part had my modicum of time permitted me; but the churches of Asia were my first object. My course then lay along the left bank of the *Mœandrus* to the site of *Karoura*, and after that, of *Laodiceia*, from which I crossed the *Lycus* on my way to that of *Hierapolis*.

My course now lay north-west, through the extensive district of the *Katakekaumene*, and the point of junction of the *Messogis* and *Tmolus* ranges, to *Philadelphia*,* which is situated on the northern slope of the latter. The site of *Sardes* (صارط or سارت) terminated, for the present, my advance in this direction, as *Thyatira*, by the way of the *Gygæan* lake and *Marmora*, was my next resting place. I then resumed my former direction, and crossing the *Hyllus* entered *Mysia* by the way of the site of *Nakrasa*,† which brought me on to *Pergamos*.

This terminated, for the present, my course northwards, as I returned from thence by the coast road to *Smyrna*, having thus completed my survey of the Asiatic churches.

Teos, the central city of the Ionian confederacy, and the seat where the Panionian Council assembled, might naturally be supposed to possess attractions for the antiquarian traveller. Nor will he be disappointed. Its remains commence at the distance of a mile or two to the south-east of the modern village of *Sighadjek* (سغاجق), and extend over an area of three or four miles in circumference. Vestiges also of the old harbour are yet plainly discernible, which is quite distinct from that by which *Sighadjek* is approached, this lying considerably to the north.

As the traveller emerges from the ruins, and pursues his course towards the north-east, he comes, at the distance of three or four miles, upon the modern village of *Sivry-hissar*, (سورى-حصار), close by which, and surmounting walls

* علا-شهر, (perhaps الا, but) not الله, as generally supposed. See note in first Memoir on this, p. 128.

† See Arundell's *Visit to the Seven Churches of Asia*, p. 276. The Turkish representative of this is بغر or بكر. It is distant from Thyatira, to the N. W., about three hours and a half or four hours.

Coins of this ancient site are still extant, and an inscription published by Chishull, in his *Antiquitates Asiaticæ*, p. 146, proves it to have been a colony of the Macedonians. Vid. Eckhel. u. s. vol. iii. p. 109.

along the sides of the road, numerous fragments of ancient sculpture are visible. These, as I have heard it conjectured also by an intelligent traveller* who had visited the spot, were originally part of the architectural embellishments of Teos. The mutilated inscriptions, however, which they present, contain no evidence of the fact; and perhaps the supposition is equally probable that *Sivry-Hissár*, instead of being indebted to its more distinguished neighbour for the vestiges of ancient splendour which it possesses, may prefer an original claim to them itself. The town of Chalcis, in the territory of the Chalcideans mentioned by Strabo,† occupied a position in this quarter very nearly, if not precisely, similar to that which *Sivry-Hissár* does at present; and on the same authority, we may extend a like observation to the Turkish village which is generally supposed to represent *Teos*, for the position of *Sighadjék* agrees remarkably well with the geographer's notice of *Cherræïdæ*.‡

I make these observations with respect to the comparative geography of this most interesting district, of course, subject to correction. I cannot precisely affirm, that any of the tituli, of which I now proceed to submit an account to the Academy, aid us in this research. Of this, however, I feel confident, that

* Thomas Rothwell, Esq., who was a resident in the neighbourhood of Smyrna during the period of my visit.

I cannot omit this opportunity of expressing my obligation to that gentleman for his courtesy towards me whilst in Asia Minor. It was he who directed my attention to the most interesting objects within and around Smyrna, and most kindly placed at my disposal the contents of a diary which he had kept during an excursion which he made to the site of Teos, and over some interesting localities of the interior, including Philadelphia, Sardes, and Thyatira.

To another valued and highly respected friend, the Rev. W. B. Lewis, the British Chaplain at Smyrna, I owe a large debt of obligation for his kind hospitality to an old College acquaintance, and, still more, for his associating me with him in the important duties of his station, when the performance of them was, in a peculiar degree, a refreshment and a solace to my mind.

† Rer. Geograph. xiv. 1, (vol. iii. p. 180, Tauchn.) Τὸ μὲν γὰρ νότιον τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ πλευρὸν ἔχουσι Τηΐοι, τοὺς Χαλκιδέας.

I do not perceive that on this point of identification Bp. Pococke has ventured any opinion, as he has done with respect to *Sighadjék*.

‡ Ubi supra, xiv. 1. Ἔστι καὶ ἄλλος λιμὴν ὁ πρόσβορος ἀπὸ τριάκοντα σταδίων τῆς πόλεως, Χηραιΐδαι.

This conjecture occurred to myself, and I have had the satifaction of finding that Pococke entertained the same opinion. He classes his tituli from *Sighadjék* under the head *Cherræïdæ*. Vid. *Inscr. Antiq.* p. 21.

two, and most probably three, of the five which I have collected, belong to *Teos;* one, because it was copied from ruins on the actual site; another, because it contains evidence, which to me is satisfactory, and which I hope to make equally so to my learned audience, of it marking the position of the Dionysiac temple, which Vitruvius* mentions as one of the chief ornaments of *Teos*. The third, to which I have alluded as of uncertain reference, was copied from the superstructure of one of those draw-wells which meet the traveller on the way to *Sivry-Hissár*, but from the notices which it contains, can hardly be referred to any other locality excepting one of great municipal importance. As to the others I can state nothing with confidence; they were likewise copied from well-mouths, but have been so utterly defaced and mutilated, that it is impossible to extract anything certain from the indistinct notices which they contain. I present them merely as archæological specimens, and evidences of a traveller's zeal in a good cause.

The first of these tituli is a document of exceeding interest, and referrible, as I conceive, to an early date; at least early when compared to the Græco-Roman inscriptions. I should pronounce it to be one of the muniments which the cities of Asia were required to produce in the reign of Tiberius, in order to the establishment of their several claims to the right of sanctuary†. The forms of the characters, more especially of the Sigma, (which is ≼), so far from approximating to the rectangular or semicircular outline that tituli of a more recent period so frequently exhibit, carry us back to a period even anterior to the Roman conquest. The dialect, moreover, appears to be the same with that of the ancient inscriptions which Sherard and Lisle copied in the territory of Teos so far back as 1709 and 1716, and which have been given to the public by the learned Edmond Chishull in his *Antiquitates Asiaticæ*. The fragment here presented merits a distinguished place in that collection, as one of the monumental *jura* of this sacred district.

It commences with a distinct notice of an ΑΣΥΛΟΝ, which is repeated in

* See Architect. lib. iii. c. 2. p. 90, and vii. Præfat. p. 193, Ed. Bip. Pococke's collection of Inscriptions contains a mutilated one of some length from this site, but which has been, as was but too usual with that learned traveller, most inaccurately copied. It is no longer in existence, at least I was unable to discover ii.

† Compare Tacit. *Annal.* iii. 60. ss. Sueton. *Tiber.* xxxvii.

the sixth line, this beginning with ΣΥΛΙΑΣ, that is, ΑΣΥΛΙΑΣ. Mention is also evidently made, in the twelfth line, of a Delphian of the name of Agelaon; in the fifteenth, of a person named Astyanax, in connexion with a people, which I entertain no doubt was that of Cos; and, in the last line, either of the Tyrrhenians, with whom we all are familiar, or, more probably, of the Polyrrhenians, a Cretan people noticed by Strabo, and, from the circumstance of their neighbourhood, very likely to have been here introduced.*

All these scattered notices conduct us at once to the purport of the inscription, namely, that it was designed to perpetuate the claim of the Teians to the privileges of asylumship, by its reciting the names of the several states, or the distinguished citizens of the several communities, with which they had, from time to time, ratified treaties interchanging that right.

The conclusion from all this appears to me far from unreasonable, which is, that a copy of this document had been produced by the embassadors of the city in the presence of the Roman Senate, to which council Tiberius had referred them for final adjudication as to their claims.†

The narrative which Tacitus has left us of the proceedings of the Emperor on this occasion affords the best commentary I could select. I therefore adduce it in evidence of what I have stated.

* My copy here is ΠΟ••ΡΡΗΝΙΩΝ, which may have been either ΑΠΟΤΥΡΡΗΝΙΩΝ, or ΠΟΛΥΡΡΗΝΙΩΝ. I prefer the latter of these. Express mention is made by Strabo of this district of Crete, which lay towards the western shore of the island, and was remarkable for its sanctuary of Dictynna, to which a reference was probably made is this part of the titulus.

One of their autonomous coins presents on the obverse a head of Jupiter crowned with laurel, and on the other side, an ox's head filleted, which Eckhel explains, as Suidas had done, by the custom of the Cretans' celebrating religious festivals in the neighbourhood of this place. *Doctr. Num. Vet.* vol. ii. p. 318.

The learned Chishull has published, amongst his other tituli, from the researches of Sherard and Lisle in the years 1709 and 1716, decrees establishing mutual rights of asylum between the Teians and various cities of Crete, amongst which Polyrrhenium is expressly mentioned. See the preamble in *Antiqq. Asiat.* Inscr. vii. p. 121.

This circumstance in particular appears to remove all doubt as to the true reading in the last line of the titulus which I copied, and which, doubtless, was of the same import with those published by Chishull.

† See Tacitus, *ubi supra*, cc. 60, 63.

"The custom of establishing sanctuaries in the Greek cities had degenerated into a species of licentiousnesss; the temples were crowded with slaves of the worst characters. Debtors were, to the injury of their creditors, allowed the same privilege, which was also shared even by persons suspected of capital crimes; nor did there exist any influence of sufficient strength to control the seditions which took place amongst the people, who shielded men's enormities as they would guard the ceremonies of the gods. It was accordingly decreed, that the cities should send delegates with notification of their respective claims; and some forbore, of their own accord, to press rights which they had unjustly preferred, whilst many relied on their superstitions, or their claims on the Roman people in consequence of services performed."*

That the citizens of Teos were of the number of these last, there is every reason to conclude, and if so, that the very fragment before us was one of the *jura* here mentioned by the historian, or attestatory documents with which the delegates were required to come provided; for Tacitus adds in the next section to that from which I have quoted, that the Ephesians, the Magnesians (of Sipylus,) the Aphrodisians, the Stratoniceans, the Hierocæsareans, the Cyprians, and *other states*, complied with the wishes of the Senate, and sent deputies to Rome; as also did the people of Samos and the Coans, in the following year; and of these last express mention is made, as I have stated, in the fifteenth, perhaps also in the eighth line of this Teian inscription.

On the whole, I am disposed to rank this titulus in the same class with those which the learned Chishull published upwards of a century since, from the papers

* "Crebrescebat enim Græcas per urbes licentia atque impunitas asyla statuendi; complebantur templa pessimis servitiorum; eodem subsidio obærati adversum creditores, suspectique capitalium criminum receptabantur. Nec ullum satis validum imperium erat coercendis seditionibus populi, flagitia hominum, ut cærimonias deum, protegentis. Igitur placitum, ut mitterent civitates jura atque legatos. Et quædam, quod falso usurpaverant, sponte omisere; multæ vetustis superstitionibus aut meritis in populum Romanum fidebant." Tacit. Annal. *u. s.*, c. 60.

On this subject of *Asylia* the learned reader may consult with advantage Spanheim, *De Usu et Præstantia Numm. Dissert.* ix. pp. 667, ss. wherein he treats of the various Asyla amongst the ancients, their prescribed limits, and the true import of the titles ἱεραὶ and ἄσυλοι conferred on various cities.

Eckhel professes to follow Spanheim in his chapter on this subject, vol. iv. pp. 306, sqq.

of the late Sir William Sherard, thus supplying a distinguished editor* of Tacitus, who has quoted at full length his Aphrodisian and Stratonicean tituli in particular, with documents of a most interesting and important character towards the illustration of his author's text.

I cannot but feel regret that I have been obliged to fill up the Lacunæ in my transcript of this record with my own imperfect supplements; but I have had no other altenative. My learned auditory will, of course, regard all this merely in the light of a Tentamen, open to, and most probably demanding, ulterior correction.

The commencement, or preamble, as it may be termed, is wanting, but may perhaps be supplied as follows:

[Inasmuch as it is well-known that the temple of Hercules,] in Agrigentum,† is a sanctuary
To those who enter its precincts, which also
[We regard as becoming its citizens,] seeing that we have conceded [the same privilege
To such as have been placed] in circumstances of difficulty, whence there is reserved

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* Viz. Brotier. Vid. Tacit. Edit. Lemaire, vol. iv. pp. 428, 432.

The parts of Chishull's work referred to here are pp. 152, 156, in which he has given from the MS. of Sherard the Aphrodisian and Stratonicean inscriptions.

The late Sir William Sherard's papers at present form part of the Harleian collection in the British Museum, N° 7509. They have been recently used by the learned Professor Boeckh, in forming his *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum* relative to Asia Minor.

I observe the Stratonicean titulus to be No. 2715, in his series, and that it has been published also by Mr. Fellows, in his last volume of travels, Nos. 91 and 92, p. 367.

† There is some difficulty with respect to this part of the titulus. My copy is as follows, in vv. 1. and 2. ΑΓΓΡΑΓΑΝΑΣΤΑΟΝ * * * * ΝΤΙΠΟΔΙΚΟΙΑΓΓΡΑ * * * in both which I have conceived that reference has been made to the circumstance of there having been a reciprocity of Asylia established between the inhabitants of Agrigentum and the Ionians of Teos and its dependencies. This is *a priori* probable, when the Rhodian origin of Agrigentum is taken into consideration, from which it would naturally follow, that amicable relations would be perpetuated between the colonists, and the sacred territory of Asia Minor, in which Teos held so distinguished a rank. For this we have the testimony of Herodotus in the case of Gelas, through which the tide of colonization flowed into Sicily from the east, namely, Rhodes and Crete.

Hence we find the worship of Minerva established in Agrigentum; as also of Jupiter Atabyrius and Hercules, the sacred τιμένη of which enjoyed the privileges of Asylia.

See Polybius, ix. 27, 7. Strabo, xiv. 2, p. 198, *u. s.* Lactantius, i. 22. Herodot. vii. 153. Thucyd. vi. 4.

[To persons] of the rural classes, or [to any one of the class
of citizens, whoever he may be, who yields obedience]
To the common [laws which are in force regulating the right
Of sanctuary,] who may have had recourse to it,
[An altar,] whereon he may sit; as also to those * *
* * * * * * * * * * * * whose supreme magistrates allow the benefit
Of their celebrated [sanctuary of * * * * * *] to all such
Of the Agrigentines as have incurred the penalty of the law;
[As also to * * * * * * * * * *] the son of Agelaon, the Delphian;
[Moreover, it hath appeared conformable] to the laws
[Of the city, that immunity, and the right of public entertainment,] should be granted
To * * * * * and that * * * * * the son of Astyanax, who is himself a Coan,
And a descendant of the Polyrrhenians
[Should be invested with the same rights * * * * * *]

There are many other observations which it would be requisite to offer in order to a more complete elucidation of this remarkable titulus; but as these prin-

Additional probability is imparted to this conjecture from the circumstance of Delphi being evidently referred to in the twelfth line, between which shrine and the Agrigentines we have the explicit testimony of Aelian that intercourse subsisted. See *Var. Hist.* ii. 33.

But a principal difficulty arises from the orthography here adopted, ΑΓΓΡΑΓΑΝ. I do not speak of the Doric form, because the titulus bears evidence of its having been composed in that dialect. Thus we have ΔΟΘΗΜΕΝ in the thirteenth line, as in the titulus respecting the Arcades, in Chishull's collection, vol. vi. 2, p. 118. But the usual form was ΑΚΡΑΓΑΣ, whence arose ΑΓΡΑΓΑΣ. See Eckhel. *D. N. V.* vol. i. p. 191. We may, however, suppose ΑΚΓΡΑΓΑΣ to have been a legitimate orthography, whence ΑΓΓΡΑΓΑΣ may have arisen, as from ΕΚΓΟΝΟΣ, ΕΓΓΟΝΟΣ, of which we have an example in this very inscription, in the sixteenth line.

To account for ΑΓΓΡΑΓΑΝ being used as an adjective, that is, for ΑΓΓΡΑΓΑΝΤΙΝΟΝ, or a substantive, for ΑΓΓΡΑΓΑΝΤΑ, is yet more perplexing; unless, indeed, in the latter case, we may be warranted in supposing that either the engraver of the titulus nodded over his task, or the traveller who committed it to his note-book, neither of which classes of literary aspirants is, as I can assure my readers, invariably exempt from error.

On the whole, I should rather be disposed to reject ΑΓΓΡΑΓΑΣ as a noun adjective, and conclude that the genuine reading here was ΑΓΓΡΑΓΑΝΤΑ. The omission of the final vowel, at least, may very naturally be accounted for by its commencing the following word.

I have inserted in my translation mention of the Asylum of Hercules, in particular, from the passage in Cicero, *In Verrem*, ii. 4, 43. To collect this, however, with certainty, is, in the present state of the inscription, impossible; the sanctuaries of Æsculapius, which are mentioned also by Cicero, and of the Atabyrian Jupiter, possess an equal claim to notice.

cipally regard the critical department of my labours, as connected with the supplements which I have ventured to introduce in order to the completion of the sense, I have judged it best to reserve them for a more convenient opportunity.

I pass now to the second, which I have mentioned as possessing a claim on our attention from its probably marking the site of the Temple of Bacchus, of which Vitruvius has left us some notices. It appears from a comparison of two passages in his work, that this edifice was a Hexastyle Monopteros, and that Hermogenes of Alabanda had been the architect employed in its erection. A probable inference from another is, that it was of the Ionic order: and it is described by him as having been a model of symmetry in its exhibiting an accuracy of proportion between the diameters of the columns, their heights, and the spaces between them, of which Rome itself possessed no example.*

There yet remain vestiges of these distinctive marks amongst the ruins from which the following titulus was copied. The order appears to have been that which Vitruvius mentions; but it would require the skill of a professional traveller to elicit from the mass of confusion the exact proportions which he states to have been observed.

One circumstance, however, is remarkable. A portion of the zophorus of a column yet remains, adjacent to the fragment which bears the inscription, exhibiting the well-known Dionysiac symbol, the Bull's head, which procured for the god his poetical name of Ταῦρος, and his epithets, *βουκέρως*, *ταυρόμορφος*, and *ταυρομέτωπος*.†

Does it not appear reasonable to suppose, that a more detailed research amongst the ruins, beneath as well as above the surface, would bring to light other interesting confirmations of this fact? The principal of these would be, next to actual *tituli* declaratory thereof, the symmetrical arrangement of the columns according to the *moduli* of Vitruvius, which he states to have been first established by the architect of Alabanda.

In short, I should recommend the same kind of research in the case of this temple, that Cockerell many years since has suggested in the instance of the Me-

* Vitruvius, *De Architect.* iv. 3. p. 111, Bipont.

† Athenæus, ii. 38, e. Sophocl. ap. Strab. xv. 1. (vol. iii. p. 180, Tau.) Orph. Hymn. xxix. 4. (Eschenb.) Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, xxxv. (Moral. vol. iii. p. 32, Tau.)

troum of Sardes, namely, "excavation, which would expose the greater part of the building, and give a completer idea of its dimensions."*

In the mean time, I submit to the Academy the following evidence of my assertion.

The Senate and [the People]
have honoured
Katyphæna, [High Priestess]
Of Asia, and Priestess [of the]
god of the city, D[ionysus,]
Daughter of Phesep[olus,] and
of Stratonice, High [Priestess]
of Asia, by erect[ing]
a fair statue, [with the assistance of * * * * * * and]
Pisoninus, the C[onsulars.]

Of this inscription I should say that about one-third has disappeared by injury done to the stone on the right; but I entertain not the slightest doubt of the accuracy of my restoration. One of these is Dionysus (or Bacchus), in the fifth line. The only letter of this which has been preserved, is Δ, and some might think, that ΔΙΟΣ might as well be supplied. But to this I answer; that Jupiter was not *the deity* of the Teians. Indeed the prevalent worship along their coast was that of the Latoïdæ, and of Bacchus, in the latter of which the people of Lebedos were congenial votaries with their Ionic neighbours.†

Again (but on this argument I repose no great stress), the reading ΔΙΟ-ΝΥΣΟΥ nearly completes the line as to its proper length; for I am confident, that neither article nor preposition went before the first word of the next, viz., ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑ, so as to make up for what would be deficient therein, should we be disposed to restore ΔΙΟΣ.

We read in the second and third lines that this distinguished lady was High Priestess of Asia, and, in the seventh and eighth, that her mother had borne the same office.

Here I may be permitted to assume, what none can possibly be inclined to doubt, namely, the correctness of my restorations at the ends of these lines; the

* See Colonel Leake's note on Mr. Arundell's *Visit, etc.* n. 35, p. 321.

† Strab. xiv. 1. (Vol. iii. p. 180, s. Tau.)

whole of APXIEPEIAN in the one, and the last four syllables of APXIEPEIAΣ in the other. Should any one dissent from this, I may be allowed to ask, what other words could be introduced to supply the requisite sense before ΑΣΙΑΣ, the word with which the fourth and eighth lines commence? This has been preserved entire, and leaves no room to doubt as to the substantive which preceded it in the clause. We thus possess direct evidence of the honors of the High Priesthood of Asia having been conferred on females of distinguished rank. We read of it here as attained successively by the mother and the daughter, which proves not only the high consideration in which this family was held, but also that of the city to which they belonged, inasmuch as this dignity ranked amongst the very highest which the Proconsul had it in his power to bestow, and was, consequently, in a proportional degree, an object of ambition.

It is my intention, when discussing some of the Aphrodisian tituli in which express mention is made of this office, to enter more at large into the subject of its duties and privileges. I content myself at present with mentioning, that the only difference which existed between it and the Asiarchate (an office with which every biblical student is familiar) was one, not of *kind*, but of *degree*.

I now pass to by far the most important of the tituli which the well-mouths between *Sivry-hissár* and the site of *Teos* supplied. It was copied from the third on the road which proceeds eastward from the village, and is perfect in all its parts, with the exception of a few lines at the commencement, which have disappeared with the upper part of the altar, or pedestal, that the workman who shaped it to fit its present position had found it necessary to remove. The consequence of this has been, that neither name nor date exists to assist us in localizing the titulus, or in connecting it with history.

Its subject-matter, however, and the terms in which it is expressed, sufficiently prove that the state which conferred the honor (for it is an honorary titulus), and the citizen who received it, were of no mean rank. The conjecture, therefore, that it originally formed part of the decorations of Teos itself, appears at least reasonable.

This being assumed, we are enabled, from the notices of the third line,* to assign to the Ionian city what travellers have already, on the authority of Vitru-

* That is, of the Greek original as I copied it. In the subjoined translation this is the fourth.

vius, pictured to themselves in the Lydian, namely, a Gerusia. What this was in Sardes we have the explicit information which that author has bequeathed to us, but nothing had been stated with respect to the Gerusia of Teos, in the Vitruvian sense of the term, that is, a House of Assembly for the Seniors (*γέροντες*) of the state in Council.*

We learn, a few lines further on, that the distinguished citizen whose name had been recited in the commencement, had borne the office of *φύλαξ εὐθηνίας*, which in other tituli that I have seen is at one time expressed *ἔπαρχος*, at another *ἐπιμελητὴς, εὐθηνίας*, and corresponded doubtless to the *Præfectus annonæ* amongst the Romans.†

The duties of this office consisted in alleviating as much as possible the sufferings of the poorer classes during seasons of dearth, by gratuitous distributions of corn, as well as of other necessaries of life, and were undertaken occasionally by magistrates of the very highest rank. Thus we are informed by Suetonius and Dio that Augustus himself thought it not beneath him to take upon himself the discharge of the duties of this benevolent office.‡ Tacitus also has referred to this in his peculiar style, when presenting us with the outline of the Augustan

* See my first Memoir referred to above, from vol. xix. Trans. R. I. A., p. 131.

The passage of Vitruvius there mentioned is as follows: "Crœsi domus, quam Sardiani civibus ad requiescendum ætatis otio, seniorum collegio Gerusiam dedicaverunt."

These words seem to imply, that the Gerusia of Sardes served the double purpose of an Asylum, in our sense of the term, or *γεροντοκομεῖον*, and a House of Assembly.

It certainly appears from tituli that there existed in Sardes, as in other cities of Asia Minor, a *Collegium Seniorum*, which, assembled in council, had a voice in the affairs of the city. Vid. Reinesii *Syntagma Inscriptt.* Cl. vii. Tit. 36, and compare Dion. Chrysostom. *Orat.* xxxiv. pp. 418, s.

I am particular in mentioning this, lest the passage in my former Memoir should be misunderstood.

† The titles abovementioned are fully illustrated by Chandler, *Inscr. Antiq. n.* 137, p. 81. *Inscr. Rosett.* v. 13. Tit. Vatican. lxi. 12, s. in Osanni *Syllog.* p. 429. Zoëg. *Numm. Aegypt.* and *Algemeine Schulzeitung* for 1828.

Dio Cassius terms this officer *ἐπιμελητὴς τοῦ σίτου*, in *Hist. Rom.* liv. 1.

‡ Octav. August. c. xli. fin. The expressions of Suetonius strongly illustrate vv. 7, ss. of the inscription now under consideration: "Frumentum quoque in annonæ difficultatibus sæpe levissimo, interdum nullo pretio, viritim admensus est." See Dio in the passage referred to in the preceding note.

policy with which he commences his Annals: "The army he allured with largesses, the people with cheap markets, the community in general with the delights of repose."*

Another passage in the fourth book of the Annals, taken in connexion with Livy's statement as to the policy of an illustrious citizen in an early period of the republic, affords an excellent commentary on the language of this inscription:

"The populace (writes Tacitus) was wearied out with the high price of provisions: but for that the prince (viz. Tiberius) was not to be blamed; on the contrary, he used his endeavours to remedy the unfruitfulness of the land, as well as the tempests of the sea, so far as it was possible to do by activity and a liberal expenditure."†

Livy's expressions are to this effect: "The dearth of provisions was the source of much anxiety to the city, the issue of which would have been the most extreme destitution, as we learn from those writers who state that Fabius Maximus was Curule Aedile of that year, had not that functionary exhibited the same activity in the regulation of the market, by providing and storing corn, by which he had distinguished himself so honorably, on several emergencies, during his military operations."‡

This important office devolved in regular course on the Aediles and Censors,§ the former of whom the Græco-Romans termed, as we have seen, Ἀγορανόμοι, a word borrowed, as many others were, from the Athenian polity. But here we are to guard against being misled by an identity of terms. The powers of the Athenian ἀγορανόμος appear to have been more limited than those of the *præfectus annonæ*, who seems to have represented in his single person not

* "Militem donis, populum annona, cunctos dulcedine otii pellexit." Tacit. *Annal.* i. 2.

† "Plebes acri quidem annona fatigabantur; sed nulla in eo culpa ex principe; quin infecunditati terrarum, aut asperis maris obviam iit, quantum impendio diligentiaque poterat." Annal. iv. 6.

‡ "Caritas etiam annonæ sollicitam civitatem habuit; ventumque ad inopiæ ultimum foret, ut scripsere, quibus ædilem fuisse eo anno Fabium Maximum placet, ni ejus viri cura, qualis in bellicis rebus multis tempestatibus fuerat, talis domi tum in annonæ dispensatione, præparando ac convehendo frumento, fuisset." Hist. x. 11. This was U. C. 453.

§ Vid. Liv. *ubi supra.* Plin. xiv. 16, Edit. Lemaire.

merely the *agoranomos*, but also the commissioner for importing corn (*σιτώνης*) and the magistrate (*σιτοφύλαξ*) who regulated its price."*

We perceive in this last name an almost exact correspondence with the language of our inscription, ΦΥΛΑΞΑΝΤΑ . ΤΗΝ . ΕΥΘΗΝΙΑΝ.†

It is now time that I should submit this document in its more particular statements to my auditory. It has been, as I have said, quite mutilated in the commencement; but the allusions therein will be readily understood by our supposing that the personage who is the subject of the titulus had been a trustee of, or in some way possessed a control over, certain funds which had been devised by his parents for public improvements.

[The Senate and the People have honoured] Caius Tiberius‡
* * * * * * * * * * who hath restored the wall that had fallen
to decay; who hath moreover repaired from the proceeds of the interest
the portico of the Gerusia; and who hath undertaken
to provide all things, together with the bathing apartment,
and the other suitable decorations, from the funds
which have been bequeathed to the city by his father:
who hath also, during the most necessitous seasons of dearth,
more frequently than any other citizen,
regulated the prices of the market: who hath devoted
to the public service, in addition to the funds bequeathed by his father and mother
for the restoration of the Gerusia, his own property also:
who hath, in obedience to the Imperial Mandate,
and through his own munificence, prevailed upon
the citizens to enter the military service, of their free will:
who in all matters approves himself a benefactor of the city:
and in consideration of his unsurpassed liberality of spirit in all transactions.

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* Compare Potter, i. 15, (vol. i. p. 97, Edit. Dunb.) Boeckh, *Staatshaush. der Athen.* i. p. 70. (113, 120, Engl. Transl.)

† This was termed by the Romans *temperatio*, or *dispensatio, annonæ*. Vid. Liv. *u. s.* Sueton. *in Tiberio*, xxxiv.

‡ See Pococke, *Inscr. Antiq.* p. 38. In this traveller's time the titulus was so much less defaced than it is now as to give us some insight into the name of the individual here honoured. From his AIOI . TIBEPIO. I have ventured to supply *Caius Tiberius*. In the remaining part Pococke's copy is, as usual, replete with oversights of transcription.

On this I shall offer only one more observation, in addition to those I have already made. This relates to the probable date, which I should be inclined to fix to the age of Octavianus, and shortly subsequent to the period when the Senate decreed him the title of Augustus.* The grounds of this conjecture are, it is true, very far from being satisfactory, as there is little or nothing in the titulus itself to direct us to a settlement of its chronology. But the following facts are well known, and may be found available, at least in a remote degree, to our purpose, namely, that Octavianus is styled in medals the builder of the city of the Teians, in consequence of the munificence with which he contributed to its restoration; that one of his first acts after the conflict at Actium, was, to arrange the affairs of the Roman provinces in Asia Minor, in order whereunto he visited that quarter in person, and remained in it for a considerable time; and lastly, that he consolidated his newly acquired supremacy by the permanent establishment of a large military force, of which one-third was quartered in the Asiatic provinces and those adjacent to them, namely, Egypt and Africa.†

Now, this titulus makes express mention of the restoration of an important public edifice. If of the Teians, what seems more reasonable to conclude, than that the restorer had been one of the *Emeriti* of the emperor, who wished to pay his court to his sovereign by aiding him in his munificent designs, and who perhaps had been employed by him in carrying them out; who, moreover, turned the influence which his patriotism had secured him, to the best account, by facilitating the measures adopted by the emperor in order to the recruiting his standing army?

The first of the tituli of Aphrodisias, to which I now proceed to direct your attention, will illustrate the former of these grounds of presumption. This informs us expressly of its epoch, namely, the reign of the second Constantius Augustus. It likewise tells us, that it had been set up by a distinguished functionary, to commemorate his restoration of that part of the fortifications of the city. Now, we possess independent evidence of Constantius himself having contributed to

* Vid. *Ancient Universal History*, vol. xiii. p. 371.

† I may refer, for the foregoing statements, to volumes vii. p. 119, and xiii. pp. 366, 373, of the same work. For Augustus' munificence towards the citizens of Teos there is numismatic evidence. Compare Eckhel. vol. ii. p. 564.

the very same repairs.* Here, therefore, we have all the facts we can desire; in the Teian inscription we require *one*, but this I should be disposed to infer by the very same process of reasoning by which I should arrive at the name of Constantius, supposing it to have wholly disappeared from the Aphrodisian monument.

My present collection contains two other inscriptions copied from well-mouths in the same direction with this last, but so very mutilated and indistinct as to convey no precise information. I shall not detain the Academy, therefore, any longer with these presumed memorials of ancient Teos, but proceed to the next site after Ephesus where my labours were rewarded in this field of research.

This was Aphrodisias, a portion of the site of which is now occupied by the huts of the villagers of *Gheyerah*.

Ere I proceed, however, to my details respecting this locality, it may be proper to offer a few words in explanation of what I stated in my former Memoir on the subject of the inscribed records of *Tralles*. Whilst I remained at *Aïdîn* (the modern town which occupies the ground at the base of the ancient Acropolis), I devoted a considerable part of my time to visiting the existing remains of antiquity, to which the traveller ascends by a steep and rather rugged ascent from the quarter which is occupied by the Palace of the Pasha. His Excellency had most kindly placed horses at my disposal, and ordered one of his medical attendants to accompany me during my progress, by which means I was enabled to have a sight of all its remarkable features without any loss of time.

I was conducted by this gentleman to the ruins of the palace, gymnasium, or whatever else it may be called, which occupied the highest point of the citadel, of which three of the arches yet remain, the central one nearly perfect, and conducting into a court, the ground-level of which was profusely decorated with fragments of the ancient splendour of Tralles. Here are also remains of the Peribolus of the building, and on the road which runs parallel to these, fragments of a remarkable monolith of a rose-coloured granite, which it must have cost the barbarians some trouble to reduce to its present state of shapeless ruin.

Inscriptions exist in this building, which seems, like many others I met with

* Viz. in a titulus which I copied when at *Gheyerah*. The reader will find it also in Mr. Fellows' volume, ii. *n*. 18, p. 35.

in Asia Minor, to have been constructed, if not wholly, at least in great part, of the materials of previously existing edifices and monuments. Such, evidently, is the fragment from which Mr. Fellows copied the inscription that he has published in the second volume of his travels,* and which was pointed out to me by my attendant as we stood in front of the line of the arcades through which we passed into the inner court. He informed me at the same time that both this, and some others that exist amidst the ruins of the edifice had been copied by my predecessors in this route, an intelligence for which I had been prepared by the labours of Arundell, Pococke, and Walpole, within and around the site of Tralles.†

It is in this sense that I wish to be understood, when my statement in my former Memoir is read, namely, "that the site of Tralles supplied me with no tituli."‡ I meant, none which had not already been given to the public by the travellers whom I have mentioned.

I may observe the same of *Sultan-hissár*, the representative, not, as D'Anville has presumed, of *Tralles*, but of the ancient *Nysa*, or rather the *joint-representative*, for the ruins of the latter occupy an intermediate position between two Turkish villages which lie on the southern slope of the *Messogis;* of *Nazlî* also, which the same distinguished geographer has erroneously made the successor of the Greek city, but which lies nearly a half-day's journey distant from its site.

I therefore conduct my auditory at once to *Aphrodisias*, which, though also pre-occupied ground, yet possesses remains of such beauty, and in such wonderful preservation, as to make it impossible for the traveller to consult his ease, or

* See vol. ii. *n.* 2, p. 17.

† Comp. Pococke, *Inscr. Antiq.* Titt. i. iv. p. 17. Walpole, ii. p. 541. Arundell, *Visit, etc.* pp. 357, 383. Classical Journ. vol. iv. p. 88. Boeckh. *Corp. Inscr. n.* 2639, etc.

It was sufficiently strange, and proves the little attention which the first of these travellers paid to the monuments he visited, that he mistook altogether the site of Tralles. He made its present representative, ايدن-كوزل-حصار, that of *Magnesia ad Mæandrum*, as is clear from pp. 17, 32; but this oversight would have been at once rectified had he bestowed a moment's attention on either of the inscriptions referred to above.

The honour therefore of determining this site was (I believe) reserved for Chandler.

‡ Memoir, *ubi supra*, p. 127. I should mention, in addition to the names here referred to, that of Sir William Sherard, whose transcription of tituli at *Aïdîn* has been noticed by Colonel Leake in his *Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor*, p. 247.

defer to his predecessors. It is now considerably more than a century since Sir William Sherard visited this site, and transferred its most important *tituli* to his pages; and very recently, the Lycian traveller, Mr. Fellows, has gleaned amply from the same field.* Yet these considerations discouraged me not from pausing in my progress on the scene of their labours; I could not avert myself from the shrine of its tutelary, nor rest satisfied with a transient and listless glance at its memorials of past ages, nor close my ear to the accents which issued on all sides from those eloquent chroniclers of human sympathies, the altar, the pedestal, and the tomb.

One thing however the labours of my predecessors had made it quite unnecessary for me to attempt, a perfect collection of the *tituli* existing on the site of Aphrodisias. All that I proposed to myself, after the researches of Sherard, was, to form such a selection as would admit of my illustrating in essential particulars, the history and the polity of the city. I contented myself therefore with some fifteen or twenty of these records amidst the multitudes which attract the traveller's attention on all sides, from the moment he enters the gate of Constantius on his way from the site of Antiocheia. These can hardly be said to amount to more than a fifth part of those actually existing, whereof the greater number are observable amidst the ruins of the wall that surrounded the town, the interior and exterior faces of which present an almost uninterrupted series of inscribed or sculptured blocks, evidently the spoils of the previously existing monuments of the city, whose name announced the object of its worship. It should appear, that no sooner had the citizens of Aphrodisias relinquished their idolatrous rites, than they repudiated also the title which recorded them, commencing at the same time the work of demolition amongst the monuments of

* The late Sir W. Sherard, who was appointed by the Levant Company their Consul in 1702, appears to have entered this field of research with great ardour. Chishull states expressly that he has been mainly indebted to his and Lisle's labours during two several excursions from Smyrna, made in the years 1709 and 1716. The interesting tituli which he has published, from the site of Teos, in his *Antiqq. Asiatt.*, afford examples of this.

Professor Boeckh has also transcribed from Sherard's MS. the very complete series of Aphrodisian tituli which he has published in his *Corpus Inscriptt.*, and which, as I have already stated, are now preserved in the British Museum.

Mr. Fellows' collection is also very ample, extending from *n.* 13, to *n.* 72, of his second volume. But I am inclined to think that the field of research in this quarter is by no means as yet exhausted.

their heathen progenitors. Thus it was that fanes were dismantled, tomb-structures violated, statues displaced, and their shattered relics committed to the hands of the workmen whom they employed to construct the ramparts which even yet encircle so considerable a portion of the area of the ancient city.

These, with other memorials of the same era, are rapidly hastening to the same destruction which awaited their predecessors. The columns and sculptures of the heathen temple are mingled in promiscuous ruin with the architectural embellishments of the Christian Church. The massive stonework of the ramparts is in gradual course of precipitation on the ground underneath, where the yet more ignoble destiny is reserved for it of administering to the exigencies of a Turkish mason, and being shaped into forms to suit his purposes.

The temple of Aphrodite, the tutelary deity, as its name imports, of the ancient town, arrests the traveller's attention as he advances from the portal of Constantius towards the modern village. In its original state, as well from its position as the grandeur of its design, this edifice must have ranked amongst the chief ornaments of Aphrodisias. I am here to be understood as speaking in an architectural sense, as the remains which *Gheyerah* even at present possesses sufficiently attest the existence of other works of magnificence, as, for example, its amphitheatre, which occupies a vast area, and still retains vestiges of the profusion of ornament which had been lavished on the architraves of its door-ways, its platforms, and arcades.

I thought that I could perceive evidences in the architectural remains which cover the area of the temple, and are scattered over its precincts, of the changes through which the city had passed. The first which present themselves to the view, as we advance from the west, are two columns of a bluish veined marble, with capitals of the Corinthian order. Those of the main body of the temple, or which enclosed the Cella, are of the Ionic. A little farther on we come upon a fragment of a fluted column, the capital of which has shared the fate of some of those on the north side of the temple, and lastly upon two others with the acanthus sculptured on their capitals, and that incongruous device of a later age, the spiral fluting, appearing on its shaft.

These appearances may be regarded as affording evidence, that the original temple had received additions from time to time to suit it to the purposes of Christian worship; and this opinion receives some confirmation from the actual

existence of what appears to have been the *Baptisterium* in those times, the font of which lies imbedded in the ruins in front of the northern façade. It was elaborately sculptured, with an inner basin of about eight feet and a half in diameter, and widening out to the brim to one of about twelve.

Independently of these remains, there exist others between the base of the ancient acropolis and the ground in the immediate vicinity of the amphitheatre, which mark perhaps the site of the *Agora*. These occupy a space lying to the east of the temple, but are, as I conceive, at too great a distance from it to allow the supposition, that they had been connected with that edifice. The line which these columns form, would, if produced, intersect an area near the amphitheatre, where I copied an inscription from a pedestal, which in all probability occupies its original position, and if so, with equal probability marks the site of the *Forum*.

This titulus I have not been able to discover in the very ample collection which Mr. Fellows has published in his second volume of travels. Whether it exists amongst the number of those which Professor Boeckh has given from the MSS. of the late Sir William Sherard, I have had as yet no means of ascertaining.

The following is a literal translation of this document, which had been unfortunately so mutilated towards the close as to baffle all my attempts to decipher the characters. This is the more to be regretted, as the deficient portion contained the name of the personage to whom the state had decreed one of its most distinguished honours.

The most estimable
Chief Archon, twice
Quæstor, Registrar
Of the people, twice Chief-Trustee-
Of-the-temple of the goddess Aphro-
dite, on several occasions Aed-
ile, and who had discharged the
duties of the highest magistracies;
who had also in his other official
capacities performed good
service to the city of his birth;
a kinsman of Tiberius Claudius
Aurelius Cape-
tolinus * * * * * * * * * * *

I have concluded it as most likely, from the occurrence of the title ΑΓΟ-ΡΑΝΟΜΟΣ in the original, that this statue had been placed in a conspicuous quarter of the Forum. The fourth and fifth lines, also, ΑΡΧΙΝΕΩΠΟΙΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΤΗΣ possess an interest, from the position selected being in full view of the structure, over the erection or the embellishment of which the relative of Capitolinus had presided.

The portal by which Aphrodisias was entered on the side of Antiocheia (*apud Mæandrum*), or from the west, is rectangular, and different from the one on the east, which is arched. I have named the former the gate of Constantius, from the circumstance of its being surmounted with an inscribed tablet, bearing what may be termed a precatory title, on behalf of Constantius, *Imperator* and *Augustus*.

The stone has unfortunately sustained a fracture from the top throughout, which has obliterated part of the inscription, and distorted the lines. Thus, the fourth has been entirely mutilated towards the close; the fifth has suffered injury, partly, as is probable, from design, and partly from accident; the sixth is entire in every part, excepting the commencement, to which damage has been occasioned, evidently intentional on the part of the author; the seventh has escaped unharmed, but not so the concluding lines, namely the eighth and ninth, of each of which I could only decipher the one-half.

The following may be received as a literal translation of this document.

Propitious (be) Fortune.
For the health and safety and honour and victory
And everlasting establishment of our lords,
Flavius Julius Constantius, the pious, Imperator, * * * *
The Augustus: and of * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
* * * * * * * the most illustrious and most noble Cæsar:
Flavius Quintus Eros Monaxius, the most distinguished Hegemon,
And of the number of the Cretarchs, hath, for the illustrious
(Metropolis of the Tauropolitans,) and one related to the Cretans,
(Erected this portal) * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

This version has been given from a copy of the inscription which I made whilst on my way from *Yeni-shehir*, the supposed representative of *Antiocheia ad*

Mæandrum, and which I subsequently corrected on a second visit to the portal. It will be seen by those, who may deem the matter of sufficient moment to inquire into, that my copy contains *ten* lines, including the fractured ones, whilst those published by Mr. Fellows, and, I believe also, by Professor Böckh, number *one less*. But, from the precautions which I adopted whilst on the spot, I hardly think that I can have committed any oversight, notwithstanding the perplexing fracture which ran through the tablet, in the due disposition of the lines.

Of the concluding one but two or three letters were discernible, of which I have formed ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝ. But this, for all the light which the titulus in its present state supplies, might have been ΚΑΤΕΣΤΗΣΕΝ, or ΑΝΕΣΤΗΣΕΝ, as in the seventeenth of the Aphrodisian inscriptions published by Mr. Fellows, which forms also part of my collection.

There are several allusions in this titulus which are calculated to excite our interest. The words ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑ, ΤΙΜΗ, ΝΙΚΗ, ΔΙΑΜΟΝΗ, recall forcibly to our minds the events of the reign of the son of Constantine. His perilous conflicts with the second Sapor, the fall of Magnentius, his triumph over the Sarmatians, the exploits of Julian in Gaul, when as yet not more than two years invested with the purple, pass in review before the reader of history. Civil war and the aggressions of foreign enemies afforded ample materials for a votive inscription much more diffuse than that which we owe to the loyalty of Monaxius, nor was the last campaign of Constantius against his most formidable antagonist of so triumphant a character as to render the prayer the gratuitous effusion of a mere courtier.

The fourth line of this inscription gives Constantius, at least in my copy, the title ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ. This is quite in accordance with numismatic language, in which this title, and its Latin equivalent IMPERATOR, are of constant recurrence. But it is proper to remark that Mr. Fellows' copy gives, instead of this, ΑΗΤΗΤΟΥ (rather ΑΗΤΤΗΤΟΥ) to which the fifth line of my copy has been subjoined. From this latter circumstance has arisen the difference in the number of the lines, to which I have already adverted.

That ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ existed in the inscription I am quite confident, but by no means equally so, that it was succeeded by the epithet which Mr. Fellows, and, I believe, Professor Böckh, would substitute in its place. I could

discover no traces of it, unless the TOY before ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ (which probably was the article) be regarded as its final syllable.

Independently of this, it appears to me that to grace Constantius with the epithet *unconquered*, or *invincible*, after his disastrous encounters with his Persian antagonist, would seem to imply a servility of adulation almost inconceivable, even in an Asiatic.

If now we pass to the sixth line, we find a remarkable Lacuna. The name of the Cæsar has been evidently erased, the space which it occupied presenting now a somewhat deep and continuous hollow in the tablet. The questions which arise here are, which of the Cæsars had experienced this indignity, the motive which inspired the act, and its probable date.

My answer to the first of these is, unquestionably the younger, who bears in the annals of our faith a worse than equivocal reputation, the celebrated Julianus. The epithets which are here bestowed suit much better the conqueror of the Alemanni, than the morose and imbecile Gallus, to which it has been ingeniously added, that the antiquarian allusion at the close of the inscription savours of the learning which Julian cultivated and patronized. His brother, it is true, had been disgraced and virtually deposed, the fourth year after his investiture with the Cæsarean purple, and finally expiated his misconduct with his life by order of Constantius, at the close of the year 354, A. C., between which period and the nomination of Julian in his place, some courtier or emissary of the Augustus may have studied to prove his loyalty by wreaking his revenge on fallen greatness. Nothing was more usual under the imperial dynasty:

* * * * Sejanus ducitur unco
Spectandus: gaudent omnes * * * *
Turba Remi sequitur fortunam, ut semper, et odit
Damnatos*. * * * * * * * * *

The probabilities, however, appear to me to be on the other side, more particularly as inspection of existing monuments fully proves that the Christian population of Tauropolis† was actuated with a most fervent zeal for the religion

* Juvenal. *Sat.* x. 66, 73.

† This name occurs in Stephanus of Byzantium, *De Urbibus*, pp. 689, 759. Also in the titulus to which I have already referred as published by Prof. Boeckh and Mr. Fellows, not. supr. p. 30.

The Christians improved additionally on this more recent name, having changed it to ΣΤΑΥΡΟ-

which had happily supplanted the paganism of their forefathers. They recoiled with a pious horror from the associations which were connected with the ancient name of their city; they despoiled it of its pagan decorations, or converted them, when it was possible to do so, to the purposes of their purer worship; the fortifications which encircled the town, which were due, in a great measure, to the prudent precaution of Constantius, even now, as I have already mentioned, present evidences of this disregard of the monuments of their Aphrodisian ancestors; in the same spirit I conceive that the accession of Jovianus was marked by the insult to the memory of his predecessor which the architrave of the western portal of their city exhibits.

In this view it affords a lively commentary on the accounts which have been left us by Libanius, Zosimus, Nazianzen, and other writers of the same period, of the exultation of the Christians on the one hand, and the despondency, on the other, of those who clung to their ancient superstitions, which were consequent upon the death of Julian.* By the latter his statues were placed in their temples amongst the images of their gods, whilst the former, who had not restrained the ebullitions of their zeal, even during the plenitude of his power, were little likely to curb them when they had nothing to fear from his vengeance.

There was retribution in this, as we may learn from the confession of even the heathen Ammianus. "He (Julian) enacted laws that were by no means oppressive, enjoining explicitly, or forbidding, certain things to be done; but to these there were some exceptions; amongst which I may reckon that harsh ordinance whereby Christian rhetoricians and grammarians were prohibited from following their professions unless they conformed to the worship of the gods."† A cruel and arbitrary policy, and calculated to work its own revenge on the author!

(or ΣΤΑΥΡΟΥ) ΠΟΛΙΣ, one more congenial, certainly, to the new worship. Holstenius has remarked this in his note on Stephanus, p. 316.

* Compare, on the one side, Libanius, *Serm. de vita sua*, p. 45, c. *Concio Funebr.* (Orat. ix.) p. 251, b. Orat. x. p. 260, d. Zosimus, lib. iii. sub. fin. Zonaras, *Elog. in ob. Julian.* in *Annal.*, tom. iii. pp. 23, *s.*; on the other, Nazianzen in Orat. iv. p. 117, a.

† "Jura condidit non molesta, absolute quædam jubentia fieri, vel arcentia, præter pauca; inter quæ erat illud inclemens, quod docere vetuit magistros rhetoricos et grammaticos Christianos, ni transissent ad numinum cultum." Ammian. xxiv. 4. (Vol. ii. p. 47, Bip.)

This is the testimony of a heathen; for the opinion of a professor of the proscribed faith on the subject, I may refer to Nazianzen. *Orat.* iii. p. 51, a., etc.

The foregoing observations lead to a probable adjustment of dates. I should be inclined to fix that of the inscription (which was most probably coeval with the construction of the portal) to the period when the Sapor invaded Mesopotamia, and threatened the Roman possessions in the east, to oppose whom Constantius took the field in person.* It appears from an inscription to which I have already adverted as having been published both by Mr. Fellows and Professor Böckh, that this emperor had been instrumental in erecting defences about Aphrodisias. The date assigned therein is the Eighth of the Indiction, that is, of a period of fifteen years commencing with the year 312 of our era. The addition of two indictions to this brings us to 342–343, the first year of the third indiction, the eighth of which accordingly fell upon the year 349–350, also remarkable for a brief termination of the struggle between the powers of Rome and Persia.†

In the inscription upon which I have enlarged there occurs no precise date; at least if any were mentioned, it has disappeared, by the mutilation of the monument. But the year I have already referred to, that is, of the renewal of the contest by the Sapor, by invading Mesopotamia, affords a probable epoch, on the ground that it formed part of the policy of Constantius to encourage by every mean in his power the construction of defences along so important a frontier as Asia Minor.

This brings us to about the third year of the fourth Indiction, or 359–360 after Christ.

It now remains to assign the date of the erasure of the name of the Cæsar.

If it be granted that this Cæsar was Julianus, we have our choice of two dates, each in itself probable. The first is 361, A. C., when matters had proceeded to the last extremity between him and Constantius, and he was required to surrender his imperial powers to officers appointed by the court of the Augustus.‡ This haughty demand would doubtless be followed by unequivocal demonstrations of contempt and revenge on the part of the adherents of the latter, and this we are now considering may have been of the number.

But it appears to me more probable that the indignity originated with the

* See Ammianus, xx. 11. (Vol. i. p. 240, ss. Bipont.) Gibbon, *Decline and Fall, etc.*, c. xix. p. 426.

† See Gibbon, c. xviii. p. 878. Univ. Hist. b. iii. c. 26, from Zonaras, tom. ii. lib. 13.

‡ Gibbon, ubi supr. c. xxii. p. 91, s.

Christians, when the accession of Jovianus had restored them to their former influence. This fixes the date to the year 363, A. C. in the June of which this unlooked-for honour fell to the lot of the chief of the Domestici.*

The Monaxius here mentioned as the builder or restorer of this part of the fortifications is styled, in the same way that Constantius is, in the inscription already cited from Mr. Fellows' work, ΗΓΕΜΩΝ, but whether civil or military is doubtful. In the instance of the Cæsar there can be no ambiguity, as he had been invested with a military command, and was engaged in actual service, at least at the epoch which I have assigned to that titulus, and this might lead to the conclusion that Monaxius was one of Constantius' officers, and present with him during his last campaign against the Sapor. However this may be, there can be hardly any question as to the nature of his dignity of Cretarch; I mean, as distinguished from military rank. The words of Strabo are express on this point:

"They (the Cretans) elect ten Archons; but in their deliberations on matters of graver moment call in the Seniors (as they are termed) to assist them with their counsel." It is true, he adds at the close of this chapter; "of this polity not much remains, but the government is conducted in conformity to the Roman institutions."† It seems, however, reasonable to suppose that either the jurisdiction or the dignity of these Archons had survived their liberties.

Another sense of this term Cretarch occurred to me while considering the present titulus, namely, that of which such titles as *Λυκιάρχης* afford us a type. It is to be remembered that the Cretans were allied by blood with the Carians, three of whose cities, Miletus, Myus, and Priene, belonged to the celebrated Ionian confederacy,‡ which had its *κοινόν*, and by consequence its priestly officers, to preside over it.§ Following up this analogy, it seems not unreasonable to conclude, that Monaxius had been elected to perform the duties of a Kœnarch (to use the term)

* Vid. Ammian. xxv. 5. (Vol. ii. p. 49, Bip.)

† *Ἄρχοντας δὲ δέκα αἱροῦνται· περὶ δὲ τῶν μεγίστων συμβούλοις χρῶνται τοῖς γέρουσι καλουμένοις· καθίστανται δ' εἰς τοῦτο τὸ συνέδριον οἱ τῆς τῶν Κόσμων ἀρχῆς ἠξιωμένοι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δόκιμοι κρινόμενοι * * * * Οὐ πολλὰ δὲ διαμένει τούτων τῶν νομίμων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων διατάγμασι τὰ πλεῖστα διοικεῖται.* Strab. x. 5. (Vol. ii. p. 385, Tau.)

‡ Vid. Herodot. i. 142.

§ See Van Dale, *Dissert.* iii. p. 281.

in Crete, and that he enjoyed the title mentioned in the inscription just in the same way as the Presidents of the κοινὰ in (for instance) Bithynia and Mysia did those of Bithynarch and Mysiarch.*

These titles, like some amongst ourselves, were enjoyed by the personages who had been advanced to them even after the periods of their service. The *official* became an *honorary* distinction, and certainly well-merited, for the office brought with it no emolument to counterbalance the enormous expense which the discharge of its duties entailed.

I mention this, as it tends in a great measure to obviate an objection to the sacerdotal sense of the term, arising from the declining fortunes of Paganism at this epoch.

The Cretarch erects this monument in recognition of the ancient relationship which subsisted between the citizens of Aphrodisias and his countrymen. This respect to the ties of blood was one of the amiable traits in the ancient Greek character, and led very often to more important results than the erection of a monument or the repairing a fortification. Historical proofs of this will, doubtless, crowd on the recollection of my learned auditory, and save me the necessity of reference. Of the proofs from inscriptions, I could not present a more remarkable one than I have already done in the instance of my first titulus from the site of Teos, in which it is evidently made the basis of one of the most important privileges which it was in the power of one state to confer upon another, the right of sanctuary. The same feeling pervades also the coordinate tituli which Chishull has published.

The Cretan origin of the Carians is expressly stated as the opinion of some, by Pomponius Mela.† Strabo‡ writes of the Caunii, inhabitants of a district of Caria, that their account of themselves was, that they came from Crete, and in this he but reiterates the testimony of Herodotus.§ The historian, it is true, dissents from the tradition, but his statement in the preceding chapter

* See note on the fifth line of the third of this series of inscriptions, p. 46, infr.

† "Caria sequitur; habitant incertæ originis, (alii indigenas, sunt qui Pelasgos, quidam Cretas existimant,") etc. *De Situ Orbis*, i. 16, (p. 25, Bip.)

‡ Geograph. xiv. 2. (Vol. iii. p. 193, Tau.) Compare Plin. v. 29, 1; xxxv. 36, s.

§ Vid. i. 172.

serves equally well to my present purpose, namely, that the Carians, under their ancient name of Leleges, inhabited the islands and were subject to Minos, but, in process of time, were expelled from their original seats by the Dorians and the Ionians, and migrated to the continent. This he gives as the tradition current among the Cretans themselves.*

It should appear, then, that the Cretans of the age of Constantius were not behindhand with their progenitors in genealogical knowledge. It has been remarked that the allusion here made savours much of the taste of Julian's age, and on this, in particular, the conjecture has been founded that the name of that emperor should be restored in the sixth line; but this appears to be rather ingenious than solid; instances without number might be cited of this taste for antiquarian allusion, which existed in all ages of the literature of Greece, and descended even to the Byzantine period.

I now return to the inscription of which I have given a translation when commencing my notices of the Aphrodisian monuments, for the purpose of offering one or two remarks. I have not met this in Mr. Fellows' very ample collection, nor does it exist, I believe, in that of Professor Böckh.

The government of Aphrodisias by Archons, a polity in remarkable agreement with their Cretan descent, is implied in the second line, as it is expressly mentioned in a titulus published both by Mr. Fellows and Professor Böckh, in which the following salutation occurs:†

ΑΡΧΟΥΣΙΝ . ΚΑΙ . ΤΗ . ΒΟΥΛΗ . ΚΑΙ . ΤΩ . ΔΗΜΩ . ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ.

Of these (the Archons) the unknown subject of this honorary titulus is denominated the Chief, as in the fourth line, he is styled ΑΡΧΙΝΕΩΠΟΙΟΣ, that is, Chief of the Neopœi.

I have observed mention made of this corporation of the Neopœi in other inscriptions from this site. One, in a fragment of a sepulchral titulus which I copied from a slab of marble found by me in the upper course of a square enclosure outside the city wall, to the south-west. Another occurs in an inscription on a sarcophagus which Mr. Fellows has published in the second volume of his

* Strabo reiterates this in xiv. 2. (Vol. iii. p. 208, Tau.)

† See *Travels*, etc., vol. ii., Tit. xvi. p. 302. Böckhii *Corp. Inscr. n.* 2743.

travels in these parts.* Both instances tend to prove that the officers here mentioned possessed, not merely, as the etymology of the name would seem to indicate, a control over the construction and repair of temples, but also over the hereditaments or estates which were applied to the support of the sacerdotal establishments. Thus, in the titulus last-mentioned, the estate of the deceased person was to lapse from his heirs to the goddess Aphrodite (that is, to the support of her temple and worship) on supposition of their failing to use all due precaution for preserving his sepulchre from violation, and the officers who were (of course, *virtute officii*) to take the necessary legal steps, were the Neopœi.

These functionaries are also mentioned by Aristotle,† at least *in terms*, for there being most probably a Lacuna in the passage to which I refer, leaves it a matter of uncertainty whether his *ναοποιοί* mean the builders of the temple, or officers whose duty it was to guard the sacred utensils from depredation. In either sense, however, there appears to be but an identity in the name, as the *νεωποιοί* of Aphrodisias were evidently intrusted with extensive and important powers over the funds which were devoted to religious purposes. Yet this might also have been connected with the guardianship of the temple-furniture.

I pass now to another honorary inscription, which I copied from the wall on the east side. I select it for consideration at present from its containing notices of some important offices, one connected with the public games, the other with judicial functions.

The following is the translation of this titulus:

The Senator,
Tiberius Claudius Attalus,
Son of Lucius Antonius
Claudius Domitius
5. Diogenes, High Priest of Asia,
And Nomothetes:
The benefactor
Of his native city.

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* See Tit. xli. p. 40.

† Vid. *Rhetorica*, vol. iv. p. 146, Ed. Bipont. The Athenian *ναοφύλακες* mentioned by Archbishop Potter in his enumeration, b. ii. c. 3, (vol. i. p. 243, Edit. Dunb.) seem to have been the *ναοποιοί* of Aristotle, and to correspond to the office of Sacristan in the Romish Church.

The above had doubtless occupied some conspicuous position, on the pedestal of a statue which had been erected to the honour of Attalus. As little respect, however, has been paid to his memory by the Christian inhabitants of Aphrodisias, as to those of the other distinguished personages of its heathen annals, whose monuments form an almost uninterrupted line along the circle of the ramparts.

He was a *Synkletikos*, and therefore of an order superior to the *Buleutæ*, the distinction between which has been proved by Eckhel* to consist in this, that the one conferred senatorial, the other only municipal rank. This title occurs in another inscription amongst those I copied, in conjunction with the well-known *Hypatikos*, or *Consularis;* and there is room for conjecture for the same usage having been observed with regard to it, as to the latter, namely, that it was as frequently as otherwise conferred as a mark of rank without reference to the abstract term. Thus there are numerous instances of persons being styled Consulars who had never been advanced to the dignity of Consuls, as for example, in one of the inscriptions which I copied at Philadelphia, and submitted lately to the inspection of the Academy.†

This Aphrodisian inscription has been published by Mr. Fellows, between whose copy and mine there appear two differences, but of no great moment. He reads *Domitinus* amongst the names of the Father of Attalus, confessing at the same time that it is of very rare occurrence. I can only state, that I think my copy, in the present instance, to be correct.

Again, I read ΑΣΙΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ in the fourth and fifth lines; the Lycian traveller, on the other hand, ΑΣΙΑΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ. I only remark, that the more usual form in which this title was written, when its parts were separated, was *ἀρχιερεὺς ἀσίας*, or *τῆς ἀσίας*, and so accordingly we find it in one of the *tituli* which I have brought from the site of Teos,‡ and in another which Mr. Arundell has included in the list of his Eumenian inscriptions.§

The form which I have given possesses moreover an additional recommendation, from its similarity to that of *ἀσιάρχης*, with which I regard *ἀσιαρχιερεὺς*

* Doctr. Num. Vet., vol. iv. p. 190. See also Böckh. *C. I.* n. 2926. Gruter. *Inscr.* 400, 8, and 401, 1, referred to in Mr. Fellows' volume, Tit. 40, p. 330.

† See *Transactt.*, vol. xix. p. 128. *Fascic. Inscr.*, Tit. iv. p. 32.

‡ Vid. supr. p. 24. § See *Visit to the Churches, etc.*, p. 349.

as synonymous, in its more general sense. This was an office of the highest distinction in the pagan times of Asia Minor. Its duties were onerous and entailed enormous expense. They could therefore be solicited or undertaken by those alone who could afford to sacrifice property in consideration of rank.

The mode of their election was as follows:

Each of the cities of Asia held, in the commencement of every year, a council, at which one of the chief citizens was nominated as a candidate. They then despatched ambassadors, one to some of the cities of chief note, and others to the general council (*κοινὸν τῆς ἀσίας*) to announce the name of the person so elected, from which number the Assessors of the council selected ten, and reported the same to the Proconsul for the time being. It remained for that functionary to choose the President, who was by eminence called the High-Priest of Asia, on whom devolved the office of exhibiting the games of the *κοινὸν ἀσίας* in honour of the gods and the Emperor, and to whom, in general, was intrusted the care of its temples and rites.

The celebration of the former took place at the sole expense of these officers, in the same way as was customary at Rome with the Aediles and Prætors, and in the provinces, with the *Duumviri*, *Decuriones*, and *Quinquennales*, when inaugurated into their respective offices. Hence especial regard was had to the means of the several candidates for meeting this expense, and the event of the election afforded a sort of scale for estimating the opulence of the rival cities. Thus Strabo remarks it as a proof of the prosperity of Tralles, that it furnished a constant succession of Asiarchs to the General Council.*

The passage in Eusebius,† where he states that Polycarp suffered martyrdom when Philip was Asiarch, and Quadratus was Proconsul, establishes the point that one of the body enjoyed that dignity by eminence, in opposition to Primate Ussher's opinion that there were several. But the text‡ on which he formed this

* Vid. Geograph. xiv. 1. (Vol. iii. p. 188, Tau.)

† Hist. Eccles. iv. 15. Compare Ecçles. Smyrn. Epist. Encycl. xxi., in Edit. Oxon. 1838.

‡ Namely, Acts, xix. 31. The reader will find this point discussed by De Valois in his note on Eusebius, *u. s.*, p. 132, who is followed by Pitiscus in his *Lexic. Antiqq.*, vol. i. p. 189, s. The learned Van Dale combines both opinions, viz., that there were Co-Asiarchs, but that the supremacy was vested in one, of whom the others were the Assessors. See his *Dissert.* iii. pp. 274, ss. It is certain, however, as Eckhel remarks (vol. iv. p. 211), that no monument has been discovered which

fails in establishing it, and chiefly for this reason, that those who had once been elected continued ever afterwards to enjoy the title, in the same way as the High-Priests amongst the Jews. It is moreover to be observed, that no mention is made in this passage of the celebration of games, nor was Ephesus the only city of Proconsular Asia where the Asiarchs resided.

The truth appears to be what I have already stated, namely, that the High Priest of Asia was chosen each year by the Proconsul, and that with him the other candidates were associated as Assessors, perhaps to assist him in the discharge of his important duties, as well as to obviate the chances of interruption to their fulfilment by his illness or death.

I may here state in conclusion, and as illustrative of what I have already observed with respect to the term Cretarch, that we meet with these functionaries in different authors under the names of *Bithynarchs*, *Cappadokarchs*, *Aetoliarchs*, *Syriarchs*, *Phœnikarchs*, *Cypriarchs*, &c. These appear to have been in their respective provinces, what the Asiarchs were in Proconsular Asia.*

Like some other offices of the Asiatics this was not confined to men of the higher stations of society. Females also shared in the honours of the Asiarchate, as it appears from the tituli they did in those of an inferior grade, such as the *Stephanephoria* and the superintendence of the *Gymnasia*.†

This remarkable fact appears obscurely in one of the inscriptions of Tlos

bears the inscription ΑΣΙΑΡΧΗΣ . ΠΡΩΤΟΣ, or A., as there unquestionably would have been, had these Assessors been *proprio jure* Asiarchs.

The learned reader may consult, in addition to these authorities, Salmas. *Exercit. Plinian.* p. 805, and Selden's commentary on the fourth Arundelian marble, quoted by Ussher in *Epist. Eccles. Smyrnens.* c. xii.; also Wetstein. *Nov. Test.*, vol. ii. p. 58.

The ancient writers, viz., Aristides in *Orat. Sacr.* p. 845. Philostratus, *Vit. Sophist.* xxi., and *perhaps*, Dio Chrysostomus, in *Orat.* xxxv., may be referred to for illustration of this subject.

* Bithynia, Lycia, Crete, etc., having had, as well as the Proconsular Asia, their respective κοινά, or General Conventions for sacred purposes, had also their Functionaries of the Priestly order to preside over them, viz., their Βιθυνάρχαι, Κρητάρχαι, etc. See Van Dale, *Dissert. ubi supra*; and the note in the *Patres Apostol.*, vol. ii. p. 571, Edit. Oxon. 1838.

† We possess the evidence of medals and inscriptions as to the fact of distinguished females having been admitted to the honours of the Stephanephoria, the Gymnasiarchia, the Hipparchia, nay even of the Neocoria, exclusively of the Asiarchate.

There was, it is true, sound policy in this, as, doubtless, the circumstances of the individuals

which Mr. Fellows has published.* It was copied from the tomb of a female the upper part of which exhibits reliefs of gymnastic exercises. But the evidence which it affords of the fact under consideration is, as I have stated, imperfect, as the introduction of the word ἀρχιερείας in the commencement of the titulus is wholly the editor's own.

I have observed also amongst Mr. Arundell's inscriptions one from Metropolis,† in the eleventh line of which an equally obscure indication of this recognition of female influence may be traced. But in this case also the mutilated state in which the document appears precludes all possibility of exact inference.

An argument, however, of a much more cogent nature is derivable from one of the *tituli*,‡ which I have submitted to the notice of the Academy in the commencement of this Memoir. It is, therefore, unnecessary for me to enlarge further on this point than merely to observe, that the evidence of the Teian inscription appears so conclusive as to leave no doubt remaining on the subject. At least, I trust that, as far as our present research is concerned, all doubt has been dissipated; and this, as well for the establishment of an interesting fact, as for the sake of Græco-Roman civilization; for it is, I believe, pretty generally conceded, that this condition of society is high or low in its degree in a direct proportion to that in which the rights of woman are acknowledged or disregarded. A more convincing proof of the truth of this axiom could not be desired than the melancholy contrast which these countries now exhibit.

My next inscription was also copied from the east side. The stone on which it appeared was once the pedestal of a statue. The following translation exhibits as nearly as possible the order of the lines in the original:

thus honoured were an important ground of consideration, all these offices entailing expenses which it required no ordinary fortune to bear.

The reader is referred to the following authorities for these statements. Chandler, *Inscr. Antiq.*, p. 19, *n.* 54. Osann. *Syllog. Inscriptt.* (ex Marm. Elgin.) p. 166, *n.* 59. 1. p. 350, ii. 12, 5. Eckhel. *Num. Vet. Anecd.*, p. 248. *Doctr. Num.*, vol. iv. p. 217.

* "Discoveries in Lycia," p. 185, Tit. 131. Compare p. 68, T. 80.

† "Visit to the Churches," etc., p. 347, *n.* 5.

‡ See above, p. 24.

Claudia
Antonia
Tatiana,
the most ex-
cellent cou-
sin of the Clau-
dii, Diogen-
es and At-
talus, of sena-
torial rank,
who in all things
according to the pattern
of her ancestors
hath approved herself benevolently disposed
towards the city:
The erection
of the statue
having been
confided to
Tiberius Claudius
Capetolinus.

On this I beg attention to a very few remarks.

It has been published by Mr. Fellows amongst his other inscriptions from Aphrodisias, with a notice by the editor of that portion of his valuable Diary, the trouble of which would have been saved had the correct reading been given in the line to which he refers. That reading is, as it appears in my copy, ΣΥΝ-ΚΛΗΤΙΚΩΝ, and expresses the rank of the persons whose names immediately precede it.*

Again, in the thirteenth line, my copy exhibits ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ, that of Mr. Fellows, ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΙΝ. Here, I conceive, an over-studiousness of accuracy has led his editor into error; for *εὐεργέτης* is not only a substantive, but also an adjective, at least in the Asiatic Greek.† I would accordingly translate the

* Fellows, *ubi supra*, p. 328, Tit. 38.

† Thus Lucian, *De Gymnas.* xvii. (Vol. vii. p. 171, Bip.) *ἔστι ὑπηρέτης ὑμῶν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀναγκαῖος.*

word so as to mark its concrete sense, but not *benefactress*, although in point of meaning I gain little by so doing. I wish, however, even in a minute point like this, to establish the accuracy of my note-book by shewing that it agrees with a dialectal usage.

The last observation I shall make is, that my copy restores to its right possessor the honour of having undertaken the kind office he did on behalf of a public benefactress, and, probably, his own relative. Capitolinus was his surname, which Mr. Fellows' translation makes Attalus, supplying, at the same time, a notice of his descent, of which the sculptor, in all probability, was not aware.*

Aphrodisias was entered on the east side by a portal, which presents features of much more elaborate architecture than the plain, rectangular passage which was, as we have seen, surmounted with the Monaxian tablet. The former possesses all the characters of a triumphal arch, is more ample in its dimensions, and more ornate in its embellishments. If we are to judge by the profusion of architectural remains which lie at its base, and are scattered on all sides over a

* Mr. Fellows' copy (vol. ii. p. 328, Tit. 38,) reads the concluding lines as follows:

ΤΙ ο ΚΛ ο ΚΑ
ΤΟΔΣΙΝΟ

which his editor translates, *Ti. Cl. Attalus, the son of Diogenes.*

The true reading is,

ΤΙ ο ΚΛ ο ΚΑ
ΠΕΤΩΛΕΙΝΟΥ

as it appears in the transcript which I made. Had Mr. Fellows or his editor seen the first of the tituli of Aphrodisias which I have given an account of to the Academy, it is probable that this mistake would have been avoided, as that supplies us with the full name of the commissioner here appointed to take charge of the erection of the statue in honour of Claudia Antonia, viz. Tiberius Claudius Aurelius Capitolinus.

One of Mr. Fellows' own inscriptions might, in truth, have obviated the error, namely, *n.* 29, p. 322, wherein, as in mine, the names of Capitolinus are recited.

I dwell on this seemingly unimportant point, inasmuch as I regard it as by no means the least interesting of the titulist's labours, to elicit from his monuments as consistent notices as he can of the family circumstances of individuals whose names they record. Such might occasionally throw light on the annals of their respective states or communities. This is what Mr. Fellows (or rather his editor), himself has done, in his remarks appended to his twenty-sixth inscription, p. 318, *ubi supra.*

considerable space in front of it, of which number shafts of colums with spiral fluting, and capitals, are the most numerous, we should conclude that much of the magnificence of the ancient city was congregated within these precincts.

Tituli are also, in this immediate neighbourhood, crowded together in a most embarrassing profusion, on both the interior and exterior faces of the wall. I observed the remains of one which had been sculptured on the abacus of an Ionic column, but is now nearly illegible. The singularity of its position attracted my attention, and I paused for some time in my progress along the rampart to examine its contents.

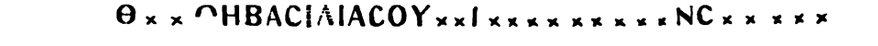
I thought I could trace with tolerable distinctness the first two petitions of the Lord's prayer, but in an inverted order,* on two consecutive faces of the abacus: ΕΛΘΕΤΩ Η ΒΑΣΙΛΙΑ (i. e. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ) ΣΟΥ . ΤΟ ΟΝΟΜΑ ΣΟΥ ΑΓΙΑΣΘΗΤΩ. Nearly in juxtaposition with this monument, and built into one of the lower courses of the wall, to the left of the portal as it was entered, I observed a mutilated inscription ΤΟΠΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΘΕ . . , *the place loved by God*, that is, dedicated to his worship.

I should conclude from all this, that a Christian temple had occupied some spot in the immediate vicinity of this gate, and one that either had been erected from the spoils of some pre-existing heathen edifice, or had been adapted therefrom to the purposes of Christian worship.

However this may be, the monument of which I have spoken—the inscribed capital—goes hand in hand with many other relics of the same kind observable in this ancient site, in marking the transition which took place from the impure Aphrodisian idolatry to the religion of the Gospel. Indeed, in exact proportion to the zeal of the pagan devotee was that which animated the Christian patrician of the town; not only were the monuments of the former either defaced, or made subservient to holier purposes, but, as we have seen, the very name of the city

* This, it is clear, may have arisen from the position of the capital as it lay when I examined it. The inscription encircled the upper part, and the inversion may not have existed when the column was in its erect position, and wholly exposed to view.

I subjoin a fac-simile of the titulus, in order to enable the reader to judge of the probability of my conjecture. I mean, of course, of that part of it which lay uppermost.



was changed. The offensive designation of *Aphrodisian* was laid aside, and replaced with *Tauropolitan*, or, to mark more emphatically the change which had taken place, with *Stauropolitan*. The favoured sanctuary of Aphrodite became the city of the Cross.*

Ere I left this spot, I copied from a marble block in the inner face of the wall, and to the right of the portal on that side, an inscription which has, I perceive, been published by Mr. Fellows, and (at least in part) by Professor Böckh.

This had been divided into two, occupying distinct compartments of the stone. They are accordingly given as two independent tituli by the former of these writers.† But any one who may take the trouble to compare my translation with the copy which his volume contains, will at once perceive that I have restored the inscription to its proper unity.

The Senate and People have honoured
with suitable and becoming
honours, Neæra Ammia, daughter of
Menecles, who had been
the wife of Metrodorus,
son of Metrodorus Demetrius,‡
in consideration of her having lived
with decorum and sobriety:
As also Metro(dorus) . . . . .
and the deceased Metrodorus,
son of Metrodorus Demetrius,
in consideration of his exemplary life,
his honourable emulation in the discharge of public duties,
and his alacrity in his magisterial,
also in his engagements, and superintendence of public works,
and the other services which he rendered to his country.

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* See note, †, p. 37, supr. † See *Discoveries in Lycia, etc.*, p. 323, Titt. xxx., xxxi.

‡ There is a doubt here. Mr. Fellows has copied in his Inscr. xxx. 3, ΔHMHTPION, which in my transcript is ΔHMHTPIOY. I have accordingly rendered the eleventh line, *Son of Metrodorus Demetrius*. But I shall not positively say that the genitive is the correct reading, as the last letter was very indistinct on the monument.

It thus appears to have been a testimony on the part of the municipal authorities of Aphrodisias in honour of the husband and wife, with whom appears to have been associated another Metrodorus, who had not as yet deceased. .The name of this last appears, at least in great part, upon the tablet, but from his not paying due attention to it, Mr. Fellows has been forced to offer the following translation of the second line, *The Council and People honoured, even after he departed, Metrodorus, etc.;* as though posthumous honours were things of rare occurrence in ancient states.

Ere I pass from this titulus I beg to direct my learned audience to what appears to me to be an idiom of singular beauty in its language. I have observed it in Dio, Herodian, Strabo, and Polybius; amongst the Attic writers, in Lycurgus.* The words which I have translated *the deceased Metrodorus*, are literally, *Metrodorus who hath exchanged*, namely, the present for another state of being. This is the form used by Polybius. In the others the word *βίον* is most generally annexed. *Μεταλλάσσειν τὸν βίον*! How superior to the host of other expressions by which death is denoted! It carries the thought beyond the point where these for the most part leave it, the present world, its employments, and its distinctions: it expresses death by life; mortality by the existence which supersedes it, and reverses its doom.

This reminds me that I have yet another class of tituli, which in Aphrodisias are very numerous, and afford much valuable information to the student, to bring

The difference, with respect to Neæra Ammia is, that in the one case she would have been the wife of a Metrodorus, in the other, of a Metrodorus Demetrius.

I should conceive that the Metrodorus mentioned in the 9th line was the same person with the M. Demetrius of the 11th, the senior of the family, who survived to witness the honours paid to its members.

The difficulty which a reader of Mr. Fellows' work experiences in this part, arises from his representing Nos. 30 and 31 as separate and independent tituli, and also from his not having traced with sufficient accuracy the first line of the latter, in which the characters MHTPO were quite distinctly to be seen. He has, moreover, transposed the first and ninth lines.

As to lines 4, s. of my version, which in the original appear thus, ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΗΝΜΗ ΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΥ, they admit of sufficient explanation by the decease of the Metrodorus mentioned in line 10. There is no necessity for concluding that the honour decreed to Neæra was posthumous.

* Vid. Lycurg. adv. Leocrat. xii. Compare Polyb. v. 35, 2. Dio, lxviii. 4. Herodian, iii. 15, etc.

before the notice of the Academy, the sepulchral. I therefore refrain from making any further observations on the other inscriptions of the honorary class which I possess, as they are mostly all expressed according to the same formula, and afford but little information of a verbal nature, distinct from the notices which they contain of personages and their respective families, which might be useful were it my object to write a history of the city, or present my hearers with an outline of its municipal transactions.

The reason why the entaphial inscriptions possess a peculiar value is, because they detail with great minuteness the modes in which the right of sepulture was secured to this or that particular person, to the exclusion of all others; the compartments which had been so assigned in each instance; the legal forms to which the founders had recourse to maintain their rights inviolate; as also, in certain cases, the religious ceremonies which were requisite. To bring these before the view of my learned auditory, in as brief and satisfactory a form as circumstances admit, shall now be my care, and for this purpose I select from the number of those I have copied one in particular, to which, as a type of the rest, on a considerably enlarged scale, I may direct their attention.

The following is the translation of this titulus, as complete as it can be made from the existing state of the monument:

Eudamus,* son of Apellas [?], son of [Zeno ?], son of Zeno, son of Eudamus [was the founder of this monument], and
Of the sarcophagus resting on it, wherein, that is, in the sarcophagus, are to be buried [himself, the aforesaid,] and
Aurelia Tatia, daughter of Papias, the pancratiast, son of Pereitas, and
Aurelius Dionysius, sixth in descent from Chrysogonus, son of Tatia, daughter [of Papias, and]
5. Aurelius, his children also, Apellas and Eumachiana, and Au[relia, daughter of * * * * and Tib]erius Claudius Achilles, son of Tolmides, his wife: [but in the underlying]
Compartments are to be buried those to whom Eumachus may be pleased to grant permission * * * *
To be laid therein, and his posterity alone; but no one else [is to enjoy the privilege
Of enclosing any one] in the sarcophagus, or of removing it; neither is he to have the power [of allowing to another the use of the sarcophagus],

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* Professor Böckh (Corp. Incr. *n.* 2834) proposes to read here ΕΤΜΑΧΟΣ, on the authority of the seventh line. But ΕΥΔΑΜΟΣ most certainly appeared on the marble.

10. Or of the tomb itself, or of the compartment separate from it; neither is he to devise any expedient [whereby it may be alienated]
Under any pretence whatsoever; but after the burial [of all the aforesaid]
The monument is to be converted into a Heroum; whereupon, should any person attempt either to bury [any one in the sarcophagus], or in
The compartments, or to move the sarcophagus, or to act in any wise contrary [to these provisions]
Let the delinquent himself, and he who engages with him, be accounted a tomb-breaker, [and impious, and]
15. Accursed, and let them, namely, the delinquent, and he who [engages with him], be bound to pay [to the treasury]
Of the Roman people, ten thousand denaria of silver, and not less. The Heroum
[Is to be consecrated] after the burial [of all] the aforesaid therein. A copy
Of this epigraph was entered in the Chreophylakion, [during the Stephanephoria of Ze[no,
Fifth in descent from Archimedes, [on the ——th] of the month of Trajanus Augustus.

This most valuable and interesting inscription was copied so long ago as 1705 by Sir William Sherard, during his excursion through this quarter of Asia Minor, accompanied by the British Chaplain, the Rev. John Tisser, Dr. Picenini, and two of the leading merchants of Smyrna, and has been published from his MSS. (which form part of the Harleian collection) by the learned Professor Böckh, and more recently by Mr. Fellows,* from personal inspection of the monument. I found it in the same position which it then occupied, namely, in the exterior face of the wall where it bends to the south-east, but so buried in the heap of rubbish which had accumulated at its base, that it cost me a good deal of trouble to have it removed. This operation was superintended by me under the influence of a noon-day sun in the month of August, an inconvenience, as I can assure my auditory, of no slight amount, in the latitude of Aphrodisias.

This, as well as the injuries which the stone had sustained from the mechanical process of copying that had been adopted by my predecessors in the labour, cost me three successive visits to the spot, and considerable exertion of my visual organs to elicit the true readings. I can only add, that I think I have succeeded in my object.

I have compared my copy with that given to the public by Mr. Fellows in his interesting volume, whose editor has followed Professor Böckh in his ex-

* Ubi supra, Tit. xliv. p. 338. Compare Böckhii, *Corp. Incr. n.* 2834.

planatory notices. We agree in the main; the points in which we do not are best reserved for a more favourable time and place than the present; my intention now is, to offer a few remarks on the principal antiquarian allusions which render this document so valuable, and which may be reduced to the general heads of the genealogical, the architectural, and the municipal.

(a.) We have seen that the epigraph opens with a statement of the descent of the erector of the monument, which, so far as we possess of the document, comprises five generations. It is evident from their other tituli remaining to us, that the people of Aphrodisias were studiously observant of this branch of etiquette in their legal formularies. When more than five generations were to be noticed, their mode of abridging the trouble of setting down the names in order was, to dispense with all but the extremes, and mark by πεντάκις, ἑξάκις, etc., the number of successive descents from the point of origin. But this, indeed, is very usual, even when no more than two, three, or four descents were to be noticed; and thus we have δίς, τρίς, τετράκις, expressing the relation of a person to his grandfather, great-grandfather, or great-great-grandfather.

In this way, the relationship between the first and last Eudamus, in the titulus before us, would be expressed, εὔδαμος τετράκις εὐδάμου, Apellas being supposed his immediate progenitor.

Whenever it happened that individuals of the same name occupied the successive generations, the genitive after the numeral is dispensed with. Thus, had it so happened, that the name Eudamus had been transmitted from sire to son for the five generations supposed to be recorded in this inscription, the expression Εὔδαμος τετράκις would have been sufficient to account for his descent from the first mentioned of the name.

Sometimes a still more abbreviated form was used, namely, in short tituli, or where there was no room for dilating, or, perhaps, no necessity for so doing, from the formula not being tied down to legal phraseology. This consisted in the substitution of the numeral letters, B, Γ, Δ, etc. for their respective values. Thus Εὔδαμος Γ Ζήνωνος would mean *Eudamus, great-grandson of Zeno*, and Εὔδαμος Γ, *Eudamus, the great-grandson of a person of the same name.*

The titulus before us affords two instances of this peculiar mode of expression, one occurring in the fourth, the other in the last line. The first of these runs

thus: ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΕΞΑΚ. ΤΟΥ ΧΡΥΣΟΓΟΝΟΥ, that is, *sixth in descent*, or *in the sixth generation from Chrysogonus*. The relationship between them was, therefore, the same as between the *Tritavus* and *Trinepos* of the Romans. That mentioned in the last line, namely of the *Stephanephoros* for the time being, was the same as between the *atavus*, and *adnepos*, he occupying the fifth generation from Archimedes.

An inscription from *Ishekli*, the representative of the ancient Eumenia, which has been published by Mr. Arundell in his "Visit to the Churches," furnishes an instance of the more abbreviated form, in which the numeral letter is used. The commencement of this may, perhaps, be restored as follows: ΕΡΡΩΣΘΕ. ΑΥΡ. ΓΕΜΕΛΛΟΣ ΜΗΝΑΣ ΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΗΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΓΛΥΚΥΤΑΤΟΙΣ ΓΟΝΕΥΣΙΝ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΙΣ ΜΗΝΑ. Β. ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ κ. τ. λ. that is, *to Aurelius Menas, second in descent from, or grandson of Philippus.*

One of the inscriptions which Mr. Fellows copied on the site of the ancient Lycian town of Sidyma affords repeated illustrations of this idiom. We read, in the eleventh line, ΔΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ, viz. *grandson of Ptolemæus;* and in the commencement ΕΠΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΔΙΣ, that is, *Epagathus, grandson of Epagathus;* and lastly, in the fourth line, ΕΠΑΓΑΘΩ ΤΡΙΣ, that is, *to Epagathus, great-grandson of another of the same name.*

A great many other instances might be cited from the collection of this indefatigable traveller, but this may suffice as an example of all.*

(b.) I now pass to the observations which I am to make on the architectural terms which occur in the course of this titulus. We meet with the following: Βωμός, Εἰσώστη, Μνημεῖον, Σορός, to which I may add Πλάτας and Εἰδοφόρος, the former occurring in a short inscription which I copied in the hut of one of the villagers of Gheyerah, and the latter supplied by Mr. Fellows in one of the tituli which had been published from Sherard's MSS. by Professor Böckh.†

These I shall discuss in their order, commencing with the substruction of the monument.

* Compare Arundell's *Visit, etc.*, p. 379, namely, the titulus there published, from the site of Eumenia; Fellows, *ubi supra*, Titt. xxv., lxxxix., c., cii., cliii., liv., ci.

† Vid. *Corp. Inscr. n.* 2840. *Disc. in Lycia*, Tit. xlv. p. 340.

This, or the πλάτας, appears to have been divided into certain compartments, sepulture in which was generally granted to the less distinguished members of the family of the erector of the monument. Then followed the βωμὸς, or altar, sometimes called the τύμβος, sometimes μνημεῖον, which rested on the πλάτας, and was also partitioned into cells (εἰσῶσται), for the same purpose. This supported the σορὸς, or sarcophagus, which was reserved for the chief members of the family, but with an intermediate monument sometimes interposed, called the Εἰδοφόρος, itself containing an εἰσώστη, for the junior members, or whomsoever else the founder or purchaser should select as entitled to the privilege.

If to these we add the σόριον and ὑποσόριον, the former of which appears to have been synonymous with, or a diminutive of σορὸς, the latter, by its composition, the substruction on which it rested, the βωμός, and perhaps, the πλάτας also, that is, in general, the whole monument as distinct from the sarcophagus, we are in possession of the chief features of the sepulchral structures of Aphrodisias.

Before dismissing this head of my subject, it may be proper to advert to, for the sake of correcting it, an assertion which the editor of Mr. Fellows' Greek Inscriptions has ventured in his preliminary remarks on one of those from the site of Aphrodisias. This is: "that the words πλάτας and εἰσώστη constantly recur on monuments of this kind at Aphrodisias, but are not met with in other Greek inscriptions and authors."* With respect to the first of these terms, this dictum may be correct; at least, I am not prepared to contest its accuracy; but in the case of the second, I must be allowed to observe, that in one of the tituli which I copied on the site of Thyatira, and which I had the honour of submitting to the notice of the Academy on the occasion of my last Address, I could evidently perceive one-half of the word ΕΠΙΩΣΤΩΝ. These also were Εἰσῶσται, but the reason, as I conceive, of the slight alteration was, the construction of the sentence, which appears to have been as follows, τῶν ἐγκειμένων ἐπὶ τῆς σοροῦ ἐπιώστων . . . . . κατασκευαστάς, *who added the compartments which lie over*

* *Disc. in Lycia*, Tit. xl. pp. 40, 331.

the sarcophagus. We might here have expected *ἐπεισώστων*, but I am confident that this was not the reading.*

(c.) I now proceed to my third head, which relates to the legal, or as they may be termed, the municipal, provisions mentioned in this epigraph.

We find it stated, that a counterpart (*ἀντίγραφον*) of the document was entered in a certain registry office called the *Chreophylakion*, during a certain magistracy, and in a certain month. The exact day was given, but here, as in other parts, the inscription was illegible.

The first of these procedures appeared to have been necessary, in order to secure the founder's property in the monument. We find, in the similar inscriptions of Thyatira, the same formality explicitly mentioned; but in the present instance, indeed in all which Aphrodisias supplies, instead of APXEION, we meet with XPEOΦYΛAKION. This, as its name implies, was the office in Aphrodisias, in which all deeds, bonds, or, as we should express it, judgments affecting real or personal property, were deposited, with a view to securing it to the purchaser or the mortgagee. Without this procedure neither the erector, nor the purchaser of a right of sepulture, nor the lender of money on the security of lands or tenements, appeared to have made what we would call a *safe investment* of the purchase-money. We find it, accordingly, occurring in another document of the same class with that which I have been elucidating, wherein there appears to have been mentioned a cession of a right of burial, or perhaps a transference of tomb-property, on the part of the erector of a monument or his

* The reader will find this subject adverted to in my *Fasciculus Inscriptionum*, pp. 73, s. and in the part of my *Auctarium* which relates to the 7th of the Thyatirene tituli.

Ὑπατόριον and Σάριον have been here added from Mr. Fellows' volume, Tit. lv. 10, clxxxii. 6, cxciii. 2. In the second of these I conjectured at first *ταῖς δ' ἐν ὑπάταις*, thus introducing a new *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον* into the Lexicons, to express the cells of the *πλάται*. But this reading I now think to be hardly tenable.

We deduce, additionally to the above, *ἐνσόριον*, from Pococke, *Inscr. Antiq.* p. 23, *n.* 12, and *ἀγγεῖον*, from an inscription quoted from Patin by Van Dale, *Dissert.* v. c. 1, p. 375. This last we also find in certain inscriptions from Alabanda in Mr. Fellows' work, p. 57.

It served, perhaps, the same purpose with the urns mentioned by Abp. Potter (*Archæol. Græc.*, lib. iv. c. 6), namely, to preserve the ashes of the dead, *λάρνακες*, (comp. Iliad, *ω*, 795.,) *ἱστοδόκαι*, *ἱστοδοχεῖα*, *κρωσσοί*, etc.

representatives, to another party named Chresimus. This cession was variously termed, ἔκδοσις, συγχώρησις, παραχώρησις, the first of which words may be translated *deed of assignment*, the second and third meaning perhaps the *act* which such deed made binding by its regular enrolment in the proper office. This act differed essentially from the ἀπαλλοτρίωσις, which we find in certain tituli so peremptorily forbidden, in that such cession might be effected in the way of sale, and saving the rights of the original proprietors, whereas the ἀπαλλοτρίωσις was a diversion of the usufruct altogether into another channel, with no regard to the will of the testator.

This proceeding by *synchoresis* is frequently adverted to not only in the inscriptions of Aphrodisias, but in those of Lycia, which Mr. Fellows has collected, viz. from Tlos, Telmessus, and Antiphellus; and appears also at the close of the Eumenian titulus which I have already cited from Mr. Arundell's volume; but in none is the legal formality so distinctly specified as in the Aphrodisian inscriptions. These limit the persons who were to exercise the right, and inform us that it was to be done by writ (ἐγγράφως) passing through the office of the Chreophylakion.*

These remarks concern the *law* of Aphrodisias. I now proceed to offer one or two with respect to its municipal institutions.

What is particularly deserving notice under this head is the office of the Stephanephoros, which, without doubt, was mentioned after the word XPEOΦΥΛΑΚΙΟΝ, with which the last line but one concludes. The formula is easily supplied from another sepulchral titulus copied by me from a marble slab which lay exposed to view in a wall of a rectangular enclosure outside the rampart. This I at first took to be the site of the registry office above mentioned; but I changed my opinion after a little reflection, as it certainly was not in the

* Vid. Arundell, Eumenian inscript. l. 16, in *Visit, etc.*, p. 379. *Discov. in Lycia*, p. 333, Tit. xlii. 3. 6, p. 348; li. 6, p. 379; cix. 17, p. 391; cxxx. 4, p. 392; cxxxii. 6, p. 395; cxxxiv. 6, p. 396; cxxxv. 4, p. 421; clxxxiii. 4. The διάταξις mentioned in the first of the above seems to have expressed the provisions of the ἔκδοσις mentioned in l. 3, or of some other modifying it.

Between *Synchoresis* and *Parachoresis*, there might seem to have existed some difference. The first may have been an act either of the founder of the monument, or in conformity to his will; the latter not so, and differing from the *Apallotriōsis* solely in this, that it implied a reservation of the right, of which the *less legal* proceeding was wholly an alienation.

quarter of the town which had been occupied by the Agora, and the buildings connected therewith, amongst which it is highly probably that the Chreophylakion was one. The existence, moreover, of the marble fragment which I have mentioned, amongst the remains of its mason-work, proves that it had been erected out of the same materials with the ramparts (which contain, as we have seen, so many memorials of Aphrodisias), and of course subsequently to the date of the Chreophylakion.

The supposition, therefore, is more probable, that it formed one of the outer works of the fortifications which had been erected in the time of Constantius, when the important positions of Asia Minor were strengthened against any possible attacks from the growing power of the Persians under their second Sapor.

To return from this digression; I think it so evident that the words ΕΠΙ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΥ are to be restored to this titulus, that a few explanatory remarks as to the nature of this office may not be regarded as out of place.

The name, as in other instances, appears to have been adopted from the Athenians, amongst whom the *Stephanephoroi* were officers of sacerdotal rank. The Hierophant, who presided over the Thesmophoria, was a *Stephanephoros*, and so was also the High Priest of Pallas. So far there is ground for Passow's explanation of the term, who parallels the office with that of the *Flamen** amongst

* Passow's explanation (*Handwörterb.* ii. p. 956, a.), of Στεφανηφόρος is, *eine obrigkeitliche Person in den Griechischen Stadten, die mit dem* flamen *der Römer verglichen wird.* This is in conformity to Van Dale, who states it as his opinion that the *Stephanephoros* was the *Flamen*, or *Neocoral Priest*, of the Augusti. Vid. *Dissert.* v. c. 1, pp. 360, ss.

The reader who desires more ample information on this subject is referred to Selden, *ad Marm. Arundel.* p. 135. Tristan, p. 598. Spanheim, *Dissert.* v. pp. 248, s. Eckhel (who professes to follow Selden and Van Dale), vol. iv. pp. 212. ss.

It appears from monuments that the *Stephanephoræ* ranked in some cities amongst the Eponymous magistrates, that is, such as distinguished by their offices the years in which they held them, and thus supplied the *Fasti* with dates. Vid. Philostr. *Vit. Sophist.* ii. 26, 2. Spon. *Miscell. Erud. Antiq.* p. 353. These refer to Smyrna; the probability is also, that they enjoyed the same rank in the confederate city of Magnesia, at least if we are to conclude from the *Marmor. Oxon.* II., which recites the treaty between the Magnesians of Ionia and the citizens of Smyrna. See Eckhel, *ubi supra*, pp. 214, 256.

the Romans, who certainly was a *Stephanephoros*,* and, though not of pontifical rank, belonged to the College of the Pontifices.†

Another circumstance is also to be remarked with respect to the *Flamines* (those, at least, of the municipal towns), namely, that no one was eligible to the office, unless he had passed through the magisterial grades.‡ The discharge of municipal functions was therefore introductory to that of the priestly; and this agrees well with the notices which we possess of the office of the Stephanephoros, which appears to have been partly civil and partly sacerdotal.

I have found these extending over a wide range in Asia Minor. Athenæus makes express mention of a Stephanephoros of Tarsus. Stratoniceia had also its magistrate of the same name, as appears from the inscriptions which Chishull has published, from Sherard's collection. It occurs in an inscription from Mylasa, which Mr. Fellows has copied, and in another from a site which I also visited myself, which the geographer D'Anville has conjectured to have been that of *Nysa*, but on questionable grounds. This is in Lydia. Smyrna had also its Stephanephoros, after whom, as in the case of the ἄρχων ἐπώνυμος of the Athenians, the year was named.§

* This is proved by the passage in Prudentius, *Contra Symmach.* i. 216, s.

> " Et ludos stupuit, celsa et Capitolia vidit,
> Laurigerosque deûm templis adstare ministros."

Compare Van Dale, *Dissert. de Stephaneph.* ubi supra, who cites Plato, *De Legibus*, xii. (Vol. ix. p. 188, Bip.)

† Vid. Pitisci *Lexic. Antiqq.* in voc. *Flamen*, vol. ii. p. 162, a.

‡ " Flamines . . . . . in municipiis . . . . . erant ex ordine Decurionum, nec prius sacerdotio ornari poterant, quam municipalia munera obivissent." Panvin. *De Civit. Roman.* 77, c. de Decurion., quoted by Pitiscus, *u. s.* p. 164, a.

§ The passage in Athenæus to which I have referred in this paragraph is lib. v. c. 54, b. That of Chishull is *Antiq. Asiat.* p. 156. The others are, *Discov. in Lycia*, Append. A. Titt. lxx. p. 362; xc. p. 367. Böckh, *Corp. Inscr.*, Nos. 2694, 2714.

The site to which reference has here been made is now occupied by *Nâzeh-lî* (نازه‌لی), a town in the plain of the Mæandrus on the way from *Aïdîn-Guiûzel-Hissár* to *Gheyerah*. This has been fixed by the geographer D'Anville, but erroneously, on the site of the ancient Nysa; see my first Memoir, p. 126. Pococke had committed the same mistake, as appears from his travels, and *Inscriptt. Antiqq.* pp. 11, sq.

That this office partook of a sacerdotal character is evident from the uniform mention which is made of it in connexion with the rites and ceremonies of religion.

Thus, the Stratoniceian inscription referred to above, is headed ΕΠΙ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ, and then proceeds to a detail of the many advantages which resulted to the state from the protecting care of its tutelary deities, after which provision is made for the due celebration of an important part of their worship, that of Hecate in particular.

In the inscriptions of Aphrodisias, it is to be remarked, that the name of the *Stephanephoros* always appears in connexion with the *Chreophylakion*, and the dispositions of the founders with respect to sepulchral monuments. No provision with regard to them appeared to have been binding, no cession of right made, without their being enrolled in the above mentioned office, and subjected to the cognizance of the presiding officer; for such the *Stephanephoros* appears to have been, from the invariable tenor of these documents.

If now we compare with this the Roman usage, of assigning to the *Pontifices* the right of granting sites for sepulture, in all cases where the tomb-property was not hereditary,* as also of punishing by mulct the violation of sepulchres,† the inference seems legitimate, that the functionaries who possessed similar rights in the Græco-Roman towns, resembled those also in their office; that they belonged to the priesthood.

This inference acquires additional probability from the circumstance, that in the Lycian cities, Tlos, Pinara, and Xanthus, all dispositions relative to property in tombs appear to have been made with the cognizance of the High Priest for the time being; at least, ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ are the words, in their tituli, which replace the Aphrodisian ΕΠΙ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΥ.‡

I have only to remark, in conclusion, that as we read of female Asiarchs, and

* "A Pontificibus locus sepulcris assignabatur, nisi forte hæreditaria ea fuissent, et tunc non erat operæ pretium Pontificem intervenire, nam idem patrifamilias in illud jus erat, atque in reliquam hæreditatem." Dempst. *Paralip.* in Rosini *Antiqq. Roman.* v. 38, p. 468.

† Vid. Marini, *gli Atti e Monumenti de' Fratelli Arvali*, tom. ii. pp. 632, 825, cited in my note, *Fascic. Inscr.* p. 69.

‡ Vid. *Disc. in Lycia*, Append. A., Titt. cxxxi. 3, p. 391; cxxxv. 30, p. 396; cxlii. 3, p. 401; cxliv. 26, p. 402; clviii. 4, p. 408.

Gymnasiarchs, so also do we meet with *Stephanephoræ* of the same sex. One of Sherard's inscriptions from Aphrodisias, which has been published both by Professor Boeckh and Mr. Fellows, makes mention of a lady who had been *Stephanephoros* for the thirteenth time. Another, which I likewise saw on the same side (the west) records her ninth *Stephanephoria.**

Doubtless, the wealth and liberality of this member of the female aristocracy of Aphrodisias, were the concurrent causes of this enviable distinction. The superintendence of religious ceremonies, with all their accessary pomp of public festivals and games, afforded ample room for the display of both, and, as in the instance of the Asiarchate, rendered their possession an essential preliminary to investiture with the honours of the magisterial diadem.

* * * * * * *

This concludes the notices which I have selected for the present occasion, relative to the tituli of Aphrodisias. Such as involve mere verbal criticism are better reserved for the private study of those whose tastes or professional pursuits lead them to take an interest in such discussions, but would be very much out of place under my present circumstances. I cannot, however, take my leave of this ancient Carian site without expressing it as my opinion with respect to its monuments, that they merit a higher degree of attention than as yet they seem to have experienced. The temple of Aphrodite alone would form a study worthy of the professional architect. In its original state the edifice must have been splendid in the extreme, and no small proportion of its beauty was due to the position which it occupied, and which was admirably chosen for setting off its details to the best advantage. Indeed, the site of the ancient city was throughout one of rare beauty, occupying the plain which opens out from the spurs (as they are termed) or the secondary hills of the magnificent Cadmean range, on the most western of which the Acropolis seems to have been placed. The impression which was made upon me as I emerged from the valley which is enclosed between the streams of *Yent-shéhir* and *Kúrasû*, and pursued my course eastward over the plain, will not soon be effaced from my remembrance. In a higher and a

* See note †, p. 46, supr. particularly the authorities mentioned at the close, and compare with Boeckh, *C. Inscr.* 2829. Fellows, *ubi supra*, Titt. xlii., xliii. 16, p. 333, where this inscription has been given.

purer sense than perhaps its ancient inhabitants felt conscious of, their metropolis well merited the name which they bestowed.

Here, as in many other sites, I am persuaded that judicious excavations would amply reward the traveller who possesses the rare union of wealth and taste, and has time at his command. Scarcely a day elapses, during the season of field-labour, without some relic of antiquity being disinterred by the villagers of Gheyerah. Then, there exist, as I have mentioned, considerable remains of the city wall, into which have been inserted many precious monuments of the pagan inhabitants of Aphrodisias, their friezes, their statue-pedestals, their sepulchral monuments, many of them beautifully chiselled and sculptured.

I recollect one series of these, in particular, which attracted my attention as I was making the circuit of the ramparts. It lay on the face of the wall towards the south; a group of sculptures in low relief, on what appeared to have been a frieze of a temple surmounted by a highly ornamented cornice. These sculptures still possess traces of elaborate execution, not perhaps in the very loftiest style of art, but by no means unworthy of an artist's notice. The grouping and the action are highly spirited, and very probably were intended to carry out some mythological idea.

Combats with wild animals form the general subject. In one a figure is represented which had apparently been prostrated by his savage antagonist; another is in the act of raising him from the ground, whilst a third is engaged in fierce conflict with the beast, to all appearance, a panther. The issue of this encounter is told in the next sculpture; the animal has been transfixed with two hunting spears, through the neck, and the victor is represented as in pursuit. Here are introduced two additional figures, a huntsman accompanied by a hound, who join in attacking the fugitive. The next carries us on a stage farther in the action; both the pursuers are engaged with the panther, and the hound prepares himself to spring upon the wounded animal.

The series now appears to be interrupted; at least I have not been able to make out the connexion between the two sculptures next in order, and those which I have described. Sea-deities are now introduced into the series, apparently Tritons, with whom warriors are engaged in mortal strife. This portion of the sculptures, extending over two consecutive divisions, I conceive to represent some myth of the Carians, or, which is the same thing, of the Cretans. I thought,

whilst viewing them, of the deliverance of Hesione, but from the absence of the heroine, and the by no means Herculean characteristics of the principal combatant, I relinquished this idea.*

We now come to the last of the sculptures, which represents the death. The wild animal has been at length overcome, and the hounds which have fastened upon him are completing the work which their owners had begun.

The course which lies immediately above these sculptures has been decorated with wreaths and volutes, all occupying a very conspicuous position on the wall. But in consequence of the accumulation of rubbish, and the fall of its materials, much of this is underground, and in all probability, excavations around the ramparts, carried on with judgment and caution, would open a mine of yet undiscovered treasures.

* The myth of Perseus and Andromeda (Ovid. Metam. iv. 669, ss.) was also present to my remembrance whilst examining this singular group of reliefs. But the essential characteristics are not to be traced, at least in the sculptures which present themselves to view on the wall.

The likelihood is, that this part of the fortification had been *pieced* with friezes taken from two distinct temples; the hunting scene very probably was a decoration of a temple of Diana, the existence of which I cannot, however, prove from the memorials of Aphrodisias; the two interposed sculptures, in which the sea-monsters are introduced, were, perhaps, members of another series wherein some allegorical conception had been worked out, but whether connected with the Aphrodisiac rites, must remain a matter of uncertainty.

The sea-origin of the tutelary deity of the city may be thought by some to supply a ground for conjecture. Was the immolation of these Tritons intended to express the decline of her worship? Do we owe these works of art to the Christian inhabitants of Aphrodisias?

It would be an interesting occupation for the future traveller in these parts to examine (if necessary, by excavation), whether any reliefs coordinate to those I have here given an account of are yet extant. The part of the wall, where they are visible, has been in a great measure concealed by a quantity of loose stones piled up against its face; these should be removed, in the first instance; but even this, independently of the additional trouble of opening the foundations, would be a labour of some weeks.

POSTSCRIPT.

The following observations are intended to be supplementary to both the memoirs hitherto published, viz., the first, devoted to the Apocalyptic sites, which occupies a place in the nineteenth volume of these Transactions, pp. 111–158; and the second, to which this is appended. In most instances they comprise the results of a more attentive consideration of the Author's transcripts made on the different sites, and in some few of those of earlier travellers, who possessed the advantage of an examination of the marbles whilst in a more perfect state than at present. The Author has taken occasion to introduce, at the same time, such additional remarks as tend to the fuller illustration of certain points in the archæology of the tituli which he has selected as the representatives of their respective classes.

* * * * *

Vol. xix. *page* 123, *line* 23.

Ἐπιμήνια. I should propose to alter this reading to *ἱερομηνίαι* (or *ἱερομηνίας*) on the authority of a copy of this Ephesian inscription, of very old date, which has recently been transmitted to me by my friend, H. P. Borrell, Esq., of Smyrna, a gentleman so well known to the antiquarian public as an accomplished numismatist. The use of *ἐπιμήνια* is, it is true, sufficiently sanctioned by authorities of the highest order,* but the other term, with which I propose to replace it, appears to be the one used thoughout this inscription to express the Artemisiac festivals appropriated to the sacred month Artemisio.

Ibid. line 24.

I feel disposed, on the authority of the transcript mentioned above, which I have collated with much care with my own, to introduce a change of the readings in lines 7, 8, wherein I had conceived that the framer of the decree intended

* Vid. Herodot. viii. 41, *m.* with which compare Sophocl. *Electr.* 281, and Hesychius on Εμμήνιος in Brunck's note.

some reference to Egyptian rites in honour of Bubastis, in order the better to enforce its provisions. Most certainly, at the time I inspected it, the fragment ΠΤΑ appeared sufficiently discernible on the marble. I could assign no reason for the horizontal line (which generally distinguishes numerals), but the intention of marking with a certain degree of emphasis this portion of the argument from prescription. I am not, however, prepared to maintain that this line may not have been a casual indentation in the stone, such as I have found to exist in other instances, but rarely or never, so far as I can recollect, so regular and well-defined. I transcribe the following from Mr. Borrell's MS., referred to above, in order to enable my readers to form their own judgment, v. 7.

ΕΙΝΑΙΜΗΝΑΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΝΠΑ . . . ΙΝΜ . ΝΑ . . . ΜΙΣ.

This is followed by a lacuna, which Professor Böckh* has supplied from other sources with ΩΝΑ, thus exhibiting the clause, *τὸ ἐπώνυμον αὐτῆς εἶναι μῆνα καλούμενον παρ' ἡμῖν μὲν Ἀρτεμισιῶνα κ. τ. λ.* in correspondence with the transcript which Pocock had published, but not I believe from actual inspection of the monument.†

Ibid. page 125, *line* 4.

It appears strange that not one of the host of preceding travellers mentioned by Professor Böckh in his Lemma to the titulus last mentioned, seems to have been aware of the existence of this fragment, which I transcribed from one of the faces of the same marble. The reason of this I conclude to have been, that it lay undermost, and partially imbedded in the soil, from which, suspecting its existence, I succeeded in disinterring it, with the assistance of my servant and one of the villagers. It certainly finds no place in the ample collection of Professor Böckh.

I revert to it here, in order to the supplying an omission of an important line (the 3rd) in the copy which I have published in my work on the tituli of the Apocalyptic sites, to which the reader is referred.‡ The absence of this line

* Vid. Corp. Inscrip. Græc. vol. ii. p. 599, n. 2954. *A.*

† Fascic. Inscr. Apocalypt. p. 138. ‡ Tit. ii. b. p. 24.

occasioned me no small embarrassment, as may be seen from the note in my *Variæ Lectiones* on the second. The missing line is as follows, commencing with the beginning of the fragment:

\- - - - - - - - - - - - ΠΑΝ
ΙΝ - - - - ΚΑΙΤΟΥΤΟΔΙΑΤΑ
ΓΜΑΤΙΔΕΔΗΛΩΚΕΝΑΙΟΘΕΝ . . ΑΓΚ
ΟΝΗΓΗΣΑΜΗΝΚΑΙΑΥΤΟΣΑΠΙΟΒΛΓ
ΠΩΝΕΙΣΤΕΤΗΝΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΝΤΗΣΘΕΟ

That is, - - - - *πανήγυριν* - - - - *καὶ τοῦτο διατάγματι δεδηλωκέναι, ὅθεν ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην καὶ αὐτός, ἀποβλέπων εἴς τε τὴν εὐσέβειαν τῆς θεοῦ κ. τ. λ.* In this the reader will perceive not only the restoration of the line which had, by some mischance attendant on transcription, disappeared, to the great detriment of the construction, but also of a fragment in the commencement, and of an improved reading in the third line, that is, *διατάγματι*, where before I had conjectured *διὰ τὰ ἀναθήματα.*

Ibid. page 129, *line* 5.

For *Βούλαρχος* read *Βουλάρχης*, according to the analogy of *Ἀσιάρχης*, &c. in the note on *Bularch.*

Ibid. same page, line 7.

Professor Böckh* has included this amongst the number of his Philadelphian inscriptions, from the transcript made by Sherard,† but has ventured upon extremely few restorations. Possibly he regarded the task as hopeless. The only observation he makes is, *Eutropius fortasse nomen architecti est.* The architect of what? The church? If so, the conjecture originated most probably in Sherard's vague description of the position of the fragment, viz., *In muro olim cathedralis ecclesiæ.* But it ought to have been added, *cum versibus ad perpendiculum positis*, for such is the position of the marble, a clear proof that it had existed previously to the construction of the edifice, and the extreme improbability of the abovementioned conjecture.

* Vol. ii. p. 806, n. 3431.

† Cod. p. 69, in Ask. i. 99.

I have ventured on a fuller restoration of this fragment in my *Fasciculus*, recently published, on the hypothesis which I have developed in this part of the memoir, but rather in the way of prolusion than with any confident expectation of acquiescence, either in my view of the subject or my language, on the part of my learned readers.

Ibid. page 132, *line* 3.

The reader will find some important observations on this titulus in my second memoir,* on the basis of Depeysonnel's copy, and given in a more expanded form in my first Fasciculus.† Since the publication of these notices, I have had the benefit of perusing Prof. Böckh's‡ edition of the copy published by Richter,§ and after him by Franck, with a most diffuse commentary.‖ Both the travellers (Depeysonnel and Richter) enjoyed the advantage of studying the marble in an incomparably more perfect state than it exists at present; yet I cannot say that they have turned it to the best possible account, as very much remains to be done towards its restoration, even after the voluminous details of Franck, which Böckh himself seems to refer to with wonder. Some notion of their merit may be formed from the brief judgment pronounced upon them by the learned Professor: *Franckius . . . . . processit longius quam fieri potest, et aliquot locis aberravit manifesto: quare ejus supplementa magna ex parte non reddidi.*

I have lately compared in detail the readings of my copy, so far as it extends, with those of the abovementioned travellers, and propose laying the result, at no distant period, before the Public, in a second Fasciculus of the inscriptions of Asia Minor. In the mean time the reader is requested to cancel all the notices with respect to the date of this Sardian monument which occur in pages 132–135, and in particular, the remarks in page 134, on the 8th, 17th, and 18th lines.

Ibid. page 135, *line* 15.

Smith offers this conjecture in his work on the churches of Asia.¶ I feel at a loss to divine what grounds my venerable predecessor could have had for one

* Page 11, note * *ante*.
† Fascic. Inscr. Apocal. pp. 153, ss.
‡ Ubi supra, p. 817, n. 3467.
§ Itin. p. 590.
‖ Richtersch. Inschrift. p. 316, n. 57.
¶ Notit. Eccles. Asiat. p. 233.

so unfounded. It arose, perhaps, from Pliny's translating the Κατακεκαυμένη of the author of the Periplus by *Exusta*,* which was excellent authority for the English traveller's doing the same for Strabo. But, unfortunately for the application, the *Katakekaumene* of the latter embraced a considerable extent of Asia Minor.†

Ibid. page 136, *line* 22.

The reading ΣAMBAΘEIΩ which I have noted as the preferable one in the *Variæ Lectiones* of my Fasciculus,‡ but subject to doubt from the obscurity of this part of the monument, is correct. In this I have been confirmed by a copy which has been forwarded to me by Mr. Borrell, as also Professor Böckh's edition formed from a great variety of transcripts.§ This *Sambatheion* was a sacred edifice, dedicated to the Sibyl *Sambatha* (or *Sambethe*), concerning whom the reader may consult Suidas‖ and Pausanias,¶ with the note of the commentator, Perizonius, on a passage in Aelian's twelfth book, in which he refers to this very inscription.** The reading XAΛΔAPOY, moreover, on which I have ventured some remarks in this paragraph of my memoir, I am now disposed to alter to XAΛΔAIOY, viz., *of the Chaldæan*, it according well with the origin of Sambatha, as stated by some authors, and appearing in the published copies of Spon and Depeysonnel,†† from which it has been adopted by Böckh.

Ibid. page 139, *line* 9.

I copied the fragment here referred to from a marble which had been placed over one of the graves in the Armenian cemetery of *Akhissár*. Its exordium had been so entirely effaced as to preclude the possibility of any satisfactory restoration. There is room, however, for conjecture that the inscription which I have edited from Depeysonnel in my Fasciculus‡‡ abovementioned, may have been nearly identical with this fragment: that it was not entirely so we have reason to conclude, from the order of the lines not being the same, as well as from ENTA

* Nat. Hist. vi. 34. 6.

† Strab. xii. 8, p. 76; xiii. 4, pp. 152–6.

‡ Viz. p. 67, tit. xv. f.

§ Ubi supra, vol. ii. p. 839, n. 3509.

‖ In voc. Σίβυλλα.

¶ Vid. x. 12, 5.

** Viz. Spon's copy. Vid. not. in Aelian. *V. H.* xii. 35.

†† Vid. Fascic. u. s. p. 178.

‡‡ Vid. p. 173, tit. b.

in the beginning of the sixth, which I take to have been ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΘΕΝΤΑ, and which finds no place in Depeysonnel's inscription. Yet Professor Böckh has restored the fragment as a duplicate of the latter.*

Should this be conceded, we must replace the name Apollonius (Justus?) with Aurelius Artemagoras, expunge *ἐν τῷ Ἀσείῳ* in the fifth line, and read in the last *δεκαπρωτεύσαντα*, on the meaning of which term the reader is referred to the note in my Fasciculus.†

The version which I have given of *λαμπαδαρχήσαντα* in this paragraph, namely, *Victor in the torch-race*, requires correction. The Lampadarches was the president of the game, not a competitor for the prize.

Ibid. same page, line 26.

The titulus here referred to is n. xiv. e., in my Fasciculus, since the publication of which and of the present memoir, I have seen Prokesch's copy, as edited by Professor Böckh.‡ The marble should appear to have sustained considerable injury since that traveller examined it, and I have, therefore, studied his transcript to some advantage, a compliment which, were mine before him, I am inclined to believe he would reciprocate.

That the inscription was sepulchral I entertain now no doubt, and should propose the following as approximating more nearly than that I have published to the original form :

ΑΥΡΜΑΤΡΙΑΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΤΟΝΟΡΘΟΣΤΑΤΗΝΕΑΥΤΗΚΑΙΤΩΥΩΑΤΤΙΚΩΚΑΙΣΤΡΑ
ΤΟΝΕΙΚΗΚΑΙΛΑΤΥΠΩΚΑΙΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗΟΥΔΕΝΙΔΕΕΤΕΡΩΕΞΕΣΤΑΙΑΛΛΟΟΝΟΜΑΕ
ΠΕΝΒΑΛΛΕΙΝΕΙΔΕΜΗΔΩΣΕΙΤΗΛΑΜΠΤΟΤΑΤΗΘΥΑΤΕΙΡΗΝΩΝΠΟΛΕΙ * * *

That is, *Αὐρηλία Ματρία κατεσκεύασε τὸν ὀρθοστάτην ἑαυτῇ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ Ἀττικῷ καὶ Στρατονίκῃ καὶ Λατύπῳ καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδῃ· οὐδενὶ δὲ ἑτέρῳ ἐξέσται ἄλλο ὄνομα* (*nomen*, i. e. *person ;* unless the reading be *πτῶμα*) *ἐπεμβάλλειν· εἰδὲ μή, δώσει τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ Θυατειρηνῶν πόλει κ. τ. λ.*

Ibid. page 141, *line* 2.

Since I wrote the preceding notices, I have availed myself of the labours of Depeysonnel,§ who has published this inscription from a copy made by him

* Vol. ii. p. 834, n. 3498, *B.*

‡ Vol. ii. p. 840, n. 3510.

† Pag. 174, not. *f.*

§ Voyage à Thyatire, p. 281, s.

while the marble was in a far more perfect state than at present. The result of this comparison I have published in my Fasciculus.* Professor Böckh† also has edited it from Depeysonnel's book and the MSS. of Sherard, Spanheim, and Prokesch. The principal result, independently of certain improved readings, has been a more accurate determination of the date of the inscription. The Proconsul named in the central division is Egnatius Lollianus, whose second proconsulship dated in the time of Hadrian, not Gentianus L. as Depeysonnel copied it, thus carrying the date forward to the reign of Septimius Severus; at least probably so, as appears from the note on this subject in my Fasciculus.‡

The copy made by Depeysonnel agrees with mine in the reading ΕΠΙΩ – – – in the last line but one of the third column. From this I had concluded that a new term (*ἐπιώστη*) should be introduced into the nomenclature of the sepulchral monuments.§ It is but fair to add, however, that the copies of Sherard and Prokesch are adverse to this supposition, so that the evidence is pretty evenly balanced.

Ibid. same page, line 5.

The name mentioned in this paragraph, *Olnetizi*, was clearly defined on the marble, as appears from the copy of the titulus here referred to in my Fasciculus,‖ as also that of Prokesch, which has been published by Böckh.¶ The latter has, however, thought proper to alter the Λ to A, and by this change to elicit the sense *ᾧ ἂν ἔτι ζῶντες οἱ προγεγραμμένοι συγχωρήσωσι.* I should at once accede to this, the more readily as it is to a certain extent sanctioned by my first copy,** were it not for the certainty that the substitution is unauthorized by the marble. The engraver might, it is true, have committed an error, or represented A by Λ, as was sometimes done, and these are the only suppositions which can make the above resolution probable.

Ibid. same page, line 11.

I find this inscription (the ninth) also in Professor Böckh's collection, who

* Pag. 181, tit. e.

‡ Vid. p. 180.

‖ Tit. xvii. h. p. 76.

** Vid. Fascic. vv. ll. in v. 6, u. s.

† Vol. ii. p. 843, n. 3516.

§ Ibid. p. 75; also the preceding Memoir, p. 57.

¶ Corp. etc. vol. ii. p. 843, n. 3515.

has published it from the Prokeschian MSS., but in such a state as effectually to preclude almost any attempt at restoration.*

Ibid. page 146, *line* 19.

Professor Böckh has published the titulus here referred to from the copies of Choiseul-Gouffier, Turner, and Cyril, with the following for the first line, ΔΙΑΤΑΓΕΙΣΑΙΔΙΑΓΝΩΜΗ, which he translates *sententia propria constituta.*† It is added also, with respect to the date of the inscription, *ex nomine Aelii verisimile fit Isidotum Hadriano non esse antiquiorem;* rather gratuitous information, as any one even moderately acquainted with Byzantine affectation might suppose.

Ibid. page 147, *line* 2.

Ἅμα δὴ καὶ ὁ Νικώνεος. Professor Böckh,‡ who has published this also from the same sources as the preceding, reads here ΝΕΙΚΩΝΝΕΟΣ, translating it *Nico minor*. This not only divests the inscription of its Byzantine point, but contradicts the evidence of the marble.

Ibid. same page, line 13.

The reader will please to correct the explanation of these letters given in the following paragraph. That they are *numerals* is certain, and equally so that they do not express *dates*, but rather the numerical equivalence (ἰσοψηφία) of the lines with which they range. Other instances of this literary trifling may be seen in the more elegant compositions of Leonidas of Alexandria, in the Anthologia.§

I remarked, when at Pergamos, that numerals of a similar kind were attached to the lines of inscriptions which I observed in the burial ground of the church *Ayo Theodhoro*, in the upper town. One of these, of considerable extent, I copied, and hope, at no distant period, to give to the Public. It was reference to this which first suggested the idea that these numerals could not stand for dates, as the values differ widely from each other, being successively 1726, 2156, and 3000.

* Corp. Inscr. p. 845, n. 3518. † Vid. not. p. 858, n. 3544.

‡ Id. p. 858, n. 3545.

§ Vid. Jacobs. Anthol. T. ii. p. 174. Passow. in voc. ἰσοψηφος, I. p. 1128, a.

Ibid. page 148, *line* 14.

Στρατηγοῖς. I have rendered this word by "prætors," in accordance with its usual translation; not, however, meaning to imply that the names attached were those of Roman magistrates. They were municipal officers, elected by the citizens of Pergamos themselves, and invested with a certain amount of judicial authority.*

Ibid. same page, line 15.

The reader will please to correct the words "four times of Consular" in this list of honors. It should be "three times," the original being ΥΠΑΤΟΝΤΟ·Γ̄· This, with the numeral preceding, Z, fixes the date of the inscription to the year of Hadrian's reign 8–9, U.C. 877–8, P.C. 124–5, being that in which he is supposed to have visited his Asiatic provinces.†

Ibid. page 149, *line* 25.

The reader is requested to suspend his judgment on the version here offered, until he has perused the commencement of my second memoir, or my observations on the same subject in my Fasciculus.

Ibid. page 150, *line* 17.

The words "Quæstor, Proprætor," here, should be altered to *Quæstor Proprætore*, for such is the correct translation of Ταμίας καὶ Ἀντιστράτηγος, the Greek mode of styling the Quæstor, who discharged the duties of the Proprætor, either during the absence of that functionary, or before his appointment.‡

Ibid. page 151, *line* 27.

The titulus here mentioned has been published by Böckh,§ from the Itinerary of Van Egmont and Heyman,‖ and, therefore, not in fac-simile; nor did I observe any such division between the first and remaining lines, with a small O interposed, as is represented in his edition.

* Vid. Eckhel. *Doctr.* etc. vol. iv. p. 195. † Ibid. vol. vi. p. 481, a.

‡ Marini *de' Fratelli Arvali*, vol. ii. p. 735. Rosin. Antiqq. vii. 45, p. 557, cited in Fascic. Inscr. Apocal. p. 195.

§ Vol. ii. p. 711, n. 3144. ‖ Tom. i. p. 80.

I perceive that the fragment ΚΑΤΑΣΚ commences his seventh line, that is, I conclude, *κατασκευήν*, meaning either the wharf where the vessels were unloaded, or the store-house in which their cargoes were deposited. But as *κατασκευὴ* means primarily *construction*, or *a setting in order*, *&c.*, we may conjecture that the inscription refers to certain improvements contemplated in the port of Smyrna, for the effecting of which a number of public-spirited citizens had united, or perhaps been formed into a corporation, in which case the words *ὑπεσχημένων*, &c., should be translated, *who had engaged for and contributed towards the construction of the harbour.*

However this may be, it appears that the supplement which I proposed,* *φυλακήν*, is to be replaced by *κατασκευήν*. Of neither were there any vestiges in the marble at the time of my visiting it. It lay the undermost of the steps conducting to a store-house in the garden of an Armenian resident in the quarter *Aya Katarina*, and had originally been raised, with some other fragments of an ancient structure, from the bottom of a well sunk near the dwelling-house. The process of adaptation to its present position and use, had evidently been undergone since Van Egmont's time, for a few of the *apices* only of the letters of the seventh line are now discernible.

I expressed a strong desire of having excavations made in the quarter from which this marble had been taken, but the owner of the premises resisted every overture of the kind, notwithstanding my offer of indemnifying him for any injury his property might sustain. He took care, at the same time, to apprize me, that a considerable number of monuments of a similar kind were to be found there; rather a preposterous mode of damping an Antiquarian's ardour!

With respect to the date of this inscription, Böckh remarks that it can hardly ascend above Trajan, in whose time Smyrna first appears as a Neocore. In this he follows Eckhel.† Vaillant,‡ however, who is quoted by Eckhel as an authority, asserts that Smyrna attained to this distinction in the reign of Tiberius.

* * * * * * * *

* Fascic. p. 105, tit. xxvii. b.

† Doctr. Num. T. ii. p. 556.

‡ Numism. Impp. G-Rom. pp. 266, ss.

Vol. xxi. *page* 15, *note* [b].

Since this note was written it has occurred to me, that the following explanation of the passage in question may perhaps be deemed the most satisfactory of any hitherto proposed. It has been suggested by the occurrence of the word ANTIOXEΩN in the titulus, that is, of the *citizens*, not the *city* of Antiocheia. What is there, therefore, to prevent our availing ourselves, in the present instance, of the solution which the learned Pellerin* has offered of a numismatic difficulty, in the cases of the Antiocheans near Daphne and Callirhoë, or in Ptolemais, namely, that in each there had been corporations of Antiocheans established for commercial purposes, in the same way that there had been of certain Phœnician merchants in Puteoli, as also of Athenian and Samian in Delos?† Indeed, with regard to Daphne, no great ingenuity is requisite, one of the titles of the Syrian Antiocheia having been ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ, but we nowhere read of Ptolemais of Galilee ever having been called Antiocheia, nor is the supposition at all probable that a city of that name had ever existed in the neighbourhood of the Callirhoë which Pellerin supposes to be understood in the inscriptions of the coins that have originated this discussion.

This view of the question enables us to resume, with a certain degree of modification, our original hypothesis as to the Syrian Antiocheia.

The district or territory (χώρος) of the Chrysorhoatæ here mentioned, may have been that through which the Chrysorhoas of Damascus . . . the Pharpar of the Scripture . . . flowed, within whose precincts a community of opulent traders from the capital may have been formed, with functionaries, both civil and sacerdotal, presiding over them and controlling their municipal relations.

This supposition appears to me to be, on the whole, less encumbered with difficulties than any of those which have been hitherto advanced. We possess no evidence that the metropolis of Syria had ever been styled as in the territory of the Chrysorhoatæ, and as little of the same fact in the instances of any of the Antiocheiæ of Asia Minor.‡ That they ever had been so is purely matter of

* Recueil des Médailles, &c., vol. ii. p. 250.

† Vid. Muratori, pp. 231, 4; and Marm. Oxoniens. n. xxvii. cited in Eckhel, Doctr. Num. iii. p. 306.

‡ To the catalogue of those which I have given in my *Fasciculus Inscr. Apocal.* pp. 89, 193,

hypothesis; whereas the explanation now offered has a strong analogy to support it.

A few words more on the subject of the medals, which Pellerin has cited, with the epigraph ANTIOXEΩN . TΩN . EΠI . KAΛΛIPOHI. In explanation of these three suppositions have been advanced: the first is, that the Antiocheians here mentioned were those of Edessa; the second, that a town called Antiocheia had formerly existed in the neighbourhood of the Damascene Chrysorhoas, here called Callirhoë; the third is that of the learned numismatist himself, who fixes these Antiocheians in the district to the eastward of the Jordan, famous for the thermal springs called, both by Pliny* and Josephus,† Callirhoë. It lies not within my province to determine which of these suppositions is most entitled to credit; but if there be any foundation for the second, it might at once be received as affording a satisfactory resolution of our present difficulty.

Ibid. page 17, *line* 8.

The inconsiderable town (πολίχνιον) of *Eræ*, which is mentioned by Strabo‡ as situated on the road from *Teos* to *Erythræ*, appears to have lain on the coast, so that *Sivrî-hissár* can have no claim to be accounted its representative, and *Erá-keuî* in the neighbourhood of the latter, on the road from it to *Vûrla* (*Clazomenæ*), as little. The conjecture in the memoir as to *Chalcis* is very uncertain, as in all likelihood this site has been removed in the ordinary maps considerably to the eastward of its true position. Its name seems to imply that it must have been situated in the territory of the Chalcideans: now this lay towards the west from *Cherræïdæ*, whereas *Sivrî-hissár* lies eastward. The Geographer Mannert§ has, however, expressed it as his opinion that the latter place is situated *Chalcidensium loco*, that is, of the Χαλκιδεῖς mentioned by Strabo.‖

It is highly probable that *Sivrî-hissár* occupies the place of one of the πύργοι (corresponding to the Attic δῆμοι) into which the territory of Teos was partitioned,

may be added Alabanda, unless we adopt Eckhel's solution of the numismatic difficulty which Pellerin thought he had removed by the aid of the geographer Stephanus; see *Doctr. N. V.* vol. ii. p. 572. But this accession to the number in no wise assists us in clearing up the obscurity with respect to the Chrysorhoatæ.

* Vid. v. 15, 3. † Antiq. xvii. 8. ‡ xiv. 1, p. 181.

§ Geogr. Vet. tom. vi. P. 3, p. 318. ‖ xiv. 1, p. 180.

and of which so ample an enumeration has been preserved in the list of the Eponymous Archons, occurring in the titulus found at *Sighadjek*, and first published by Pocock.* Could it be proved that *Sivrî-hissár* occupies a position in the ancient district of the Chalcideans, I should feel little hesitation in identifying it with the πύργος Χαλκιδεὺς of which notices have been preserved, both in that titulus and the sepulchral one published by Chandler† and Professor Böckh.‡

Ibid. page 21, *line* 8.

Since I wrote this it has been my good fortune to become possessed of ampler materials for the restoration of this interesting fragment. I have already mentioned that circumstances over which I could exercise no control, during the period of my visit, prevented my copying the whole of the inscription in the bath-room at *Sighadjek;* but since I left the country I commissioned one of my correspondents in Smyrna to dispatch a competent person to the site to complete the task, which has accordingly been done, and given me possession of more than one titulus relative to the rights of asylumship in ancient Teos.

The discovery of this was, however, a work of some time and patience, much injury having been done to the marble, and the messenger (a Smyrniote Greek) who was sent having copied all that he could decipher in a continuous series, under the impression that it formed a single inscription. I transcribed and retranscribed the whole, assuming this to be the case, but without the slightest approximation to success in eliciting a satisfactory construction, until at last the thought luckily occurred to me to try whether the spaces at the right side of the fragment which I had copied, and the Greek transcriber had marked as *lacunæ*, were not in reality intervals left by the engraver between two successive tituli; in other words, whether, instead of there being but one, there were not two or more. The trials I made to ascertain the truth of this ended in my complete success, and produced me three inscriptions, two of which are fragments hitherto unedited, and one complete, which the learned Chishull has long since published, but by no means in so perfect or correct a form as that in which I now possess it. The fragments I have been enabled to restore, in a great measure, to their original integrity,

* Inscr. Antiq. ii. p. 21, n. 8; Böckh, vol. ii. p. 648, n. 3064.

† Inscr. P. 1, p. 10, n. 29. ‡ V. ii. p. 683, n. 3103.

partly by collating my own copy, so far as it extended, and partly by a careful study of the formularies in Chishull's collection: for it has happened most fortunately that their language had been framed in strict accordance with the technical formulæ usual in such cases, from which it resulted that two or three words of a sentence conducted immediately to those before and after, as also that certain proper names peculiar to them respectively have been preserved from the effects either of the mutilation or the abrasion of the marble. This last circumstance has been of the utmost importance, as it furnished me at once with an almost infallible guide in the process of identification, that is of discovering in each instance the people to which the monument was to be attributed.

I must be pardoned for refraining to express myself more clearly just at present, as to do so would be premature, these tituli still continuing to engage much of my attention. My study of them has, however, advanced so far as to make it necessary that the reader should cancel the *whole* of the supplement which I have submitted to his inspection in pages 21 and 22. No mention whatever had been made of the people of *Agrigentum* in the original, and as little of the *Coans*, or of *Agelaon;* of these the first and last were the results of obscurities in the marble.

I may explain this in the case of the Agrigentines. The first copy which I made of the commencing line was ΓΡΑΓΑΝΑΣΥΛΟΝ, the next ΓΡΑΓ · · ΙΑΣΥΛΟΝ, and that which the Greek of Smyrna made was ΓΡΑΓ · · ΑΣΥΛΟΝ. We both agree in ΑΓΓΡΑ at the end of the eleventh line. I concluded from this that ΑΓΓΡΑΓΑΝ had been the true reading, and that the Sicilian people was referred to in this part of the inscription, but not without a good deal of hesitation, as the reader may perceive from the note in page 22. The adjustment of the reading, so as to square with my hypothesis, was hardly consistent with legitimate argument, and could only be palliated by the extreme imperfection of the monument; nor, after all, was it, when viewed in connexion with the analogy of the language, satisfactory. I have since arrived at the conclusion, that the true restoration of the passage is ΙΕΡΑΝΚΑΙΑΣΥΛΟΝ, it containing an acknowledgment of the sacredness and inviolability of the Teian soil, and that the fragment in the eleventh line, restored to its integrity, is ΑΓΓΡΑΨΑΙ, that is, *ἀναγράψαι*, this clause announcing the final ratification of the decree by

its enrolment amongst the archives of the city, one of the general confederacy of the Cretans.

Farther than these general notices I cannot be expected at present to proceed, as I am employed in researches which will, I trust, end in the satisfactory elucidation of an extremely interesting subject in the Ionian antiquities. I now take my leave of it, in the hope, with the permission of the Academy, of redeeming the pledge now offered to its members at some future period.

Ibid. page 24, *line* 5.

The reader is requested to cancel this version, and read as follows:

The Senate and [the People]
have ho[noured]
Claudia Tryphæna, [High-Priestess]
of Asia, and Priestess [of the]
god of the city, D[ionysos],
daughter of Phesei[nus and]
of Stratonice, [both of the High-Priesthood]
of Asia: the erect[ors of]
the statue being, Cal[vinus and]
Pisoninus, the C[onsulars.]

I had transcribed the first name ΚΑΤΤΥΦΑΙΝΑΝ, to which I subsequently gave the form ΚΑΤΥΦΑΙΝΑΝ, in order to present it in an etymological form, as though from *ὑφαίνω*: but in so doing I overlooked the slight alteration which produces a name of by no means rare occurrence, *Tryphæna.** The name *Pheseinus* (or *Phesinus*) is not so certain. Böckh,† who has published this titulus from the collections of Pocock, Chandler, and Beaufort, has restored it from a Chian inscription given by Coraës.‡ His restitution of ΚΑΛΠΟΥΡΝΙΟΥ, in the ninth line, is at variance with the marble, which exhibits ΚΑΛΟ or ΚΑΛΩ, a fragment. In the last line he rejects Chandler's restoration ΥΠΑΤΙΚΩΝ, which had also occurred to myself, and would substitute ΥΙΩΝΑΥΤΗΣ.

* Fascic. Inscr. Apoc. p. 201, titt. f. g.

† Vol. ii. p. 681, n. 3092.

‡ Tom. iii. p. 270.

Ibid. page 28, *line* 11.

Since I wrote this translation I have reconsidered minutely the readings in the commencement of the original, in which part the marble had sustained most injury. The result has been a persuasion that no such name as *Caius Tiberius* existed in the first line. I accordingly propose the following as the genuine form: *ἀνανεώσαντα τὸ βαλανεῖον δια=φθαρέν, κατασκευάσαντα δὲ ἐκ τόκων τήν = τε στοὰν τῆς Γερουσίας, καὶ τὰ προβαλα = νεῖα πάντα σὺν τῷ λουτρῶνι,* κ. τ. λ. The reading *βαλανεῖον* has been adopted as approaching more nearly than any other to the obscure vestiges in that part of the monument; but I thought also of *τοῖχον*. *Προβαλανεῖα* in 3–4, is certain, and adds probability to the former. *Τόκων*, in the second line, implies that a principal sum (the same, perhaps, which is mentioned in the eleventh under the name of *γερουσιακὰ χρήματα*) had been destined by the parents of this unknown person to purposes of public utility, part of which might appear to have been expended in the reparation of the bath-house (*βαλανεῖον*) of the Gerusia, and the proceeds of the interest in constructing a portico (*στοάν*) for the same, chambers or recesses in front of the bath (*προβαλανεῖα*), the bath itself (*λουτρών*), and the usual decorations attached to such structures (*προσκοσμήματα*). Independently of these bequests, of which distinct notices are given in lines 5, 6, and 10, 11, we are informed that the munificent citizen, whose name has disappeared, had consecrated (*προσκαθιερώσαντα*, in 9–10) a portion of his private property to the service of the community.

The first part of this titulus is of much interest when viewed in connexion with the passage of Pausanias, in which he notices, amongst others, the baths of Teos, as constructed with a view towards impressing the spectator with an idea of their costliness.*

Ibid. page 23, *line* 18.

The success of this rival claim to that of *Sûltan-hissár*, arose doubtless from the orthography نوزلی, pronounced *Nozlí*. This may have been regarded as one of the class of nouns called by the Turks *Ismí mansúb*, formed from a fragment

* *Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Τηΐοις . . . λουτρὰ . . . ἐς ἐπίδειξιν πλούτου πεποιημένα.* vii. 5, 5.

of the Greek Νύσα. Yet, granting even this, which, to say the least, is extremely problematical, nothing is more certain than the fact that the present masters of the country were by no means guided in their appropriation of names by identity of site. The Ionian Metropolis affords an instance of this. A fragment of the Greek name, τρόπολι, has been transformed into the Turkish *Túrbúli* (تربولی), and transferred to a village upwards of three miles' distance from the site of the ancient city.

I may here take occasion also to mention, that it is sometimes as unsafe to rely upon ancient inscriptions for the determination of sites, as upon the Turkish names. The same village affords an example of this. A fragment of an ancient pedestal is yet to be seen in the courtyard of its mosque, in which I could discern plainly ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΗΝ. There would be no resisting this combination of witnesses, were it not that the ruins of the city of Cybele* yet remain to correct their testimony.

Ibid. page 34, *line* 14.

I conclude that this titulus has never been published, as it has found no place in the collection of Professor Böckh. In truth, I may be said to have excavated in search of it, it lay so concealed in rubbish and underwood.

Ibid. page 35, *line* 33.

This, like many other positions of the same kind, in the comparative geography of this region, is to be received with some latitude. To prove the truth of my assertion, I transcribe a passage from my Journal, written by me while at *Yenî-shéhir:*

"We arrived at the village *'Alí-Agha-Tchiftlík* after about an hour's ride from the guard-station last mentioned, which, independently of its pleasing aspect, cannot fail of interesting the traveller by its proximity to some remarkable ruins on the rising ground over against it, the Turkish name for which is *Yúran-Hassan.* These remains occupy nearly the entire area of the eminence, along the inferior level of which flows one of the many tributaries of the Mendres, and in the same direction winds the road by which we very speedily approached our

* Vid. Eckhel, *Doctr. N.* vol. ii. p. 530, a.

destination for the night, *Yenî-shéhir*, the residence of the Agha of the district, to whom the *Tchiftlîk* above-mentioned belongs.

"We are now in the valley of the *Yenî-tchai*, the river familiar to the readers of Pliny under the various denominations of Orsinus, Mossinus, or Mosynus, and the ruins which overspread the hill-slopes we are passing are those of *Antiocheia ad Mæandrum*. The Turkish village lies at some distance from it, but is generally marked as its representative, and deservedly so, if the exceedingly lovely and picturesque situation which it occupies on one of the smaller eminences which command the valley be taken into account; but the sites are not the same."

Ibid. page 47, *line* 6.

On a more attentive consideration of this inscription (which forms one of the series I myself collected, and has been published by Mr. Arundell), I have seen reason to retract the opinion that it contains any mention of an Asiarch, either male or female. It is simply an enumeration of the hereditary priests and priestesses of the twelve gods for two successive priesthoods.

Ibid. page 50, *line* 15.

This may have been a sepulchral inscription. One of the tituli of this class which I find amongst my collection from Corycus of Cilicia, is thus worded, τόπος Καλαροπίου. So also τόπος Λουκᾶ, in the Christian inscription copied at Aphrodisias by Mr. (now Sir Charles) Fellows, with which compare the third preceding, ἡ σορός τε καὶ ὁ τόπος εἰσὶ κ. τ. λ.*

Ibid. page 51, *line* 14.

On reconsidering the arrangement of these tituli in my diary, and the parts which had been obscured, I am disposed to adopt some alterations in this version. A good deal of confusion arose from their lying so contiguous to each other,—I believe on the same marble; the part in honour of Neæra Ammia towards the left, that which related to her husband to the right, and almost in juxtaposition. A very little attention, however, soon rectified this oversight, and produced me the titulus appropriate to each case.

* Lycia, Append. A. p. 360, nn. 67. 70.

Whether the marble (now part of the city wall) is to be recognized as a fragment of a pedestal, an honorary tablet, or an altar, it were difficult to determine. We may suppose the former. When the statue of Metrodorus Demetrius had been erected, it is probable that a vacant space had been left for one of Ammia on the same pedestal, to be accompanied by a corresponding titulus. It thus became unnecessary to re-engrave the first line of the inscription relative to her deceased husband, Η ΒΟΥΛΗ, &c., which it was left to the reader to transfer from thence, so as to complete the construction.

With this the reading in the ninth verse (as I have arranged it in the Memoir, but which should appear as the first of the titulus of Ammia) corresponds. My copy of this exhibits ΜΕΤΡ - - - - - ΥΙ - -, with the last three characters extremely faint. I now propose to restore it, ΜΕΤΗΛΛΑΧΧΥΙΑΝ (*μετηλλαχυῖαν*), and to interchange it with the line common to both tituli, Η ΒΟΥΛΗ, &c., substituting also for the genitive ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ, in the eleventh line (as marked in the Memoir), the accusative ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΝ, for which also I have the sanction of my first copy.

I proceed to lay before the reader the result of these changes, exhibiting the tituli as they appeared on the marble:

b. ΚΑΙΜΕΤ - - - - - ΥΙ - -
ΤΑΙΣΑΞΙΑΙΣΚΑΙΠΡΕΠΟΥ
ΣΑΙΣΤΕΙΜΑΙΣΝΕΑΙΡΑΝΜΕ
ΝΕΚΛΕΟΥΣΑΜΜΙΑΝΓΥΝΑΙ
ΚΑΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΗΝΜΗΤΡΟΔΩ
ΡΟΥΤΟΥΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΥΔΗΜΗ
ΤΡΙΟΥΖΗΣΑΣΑΝΚΟΣΜΙΩΣ
ΚΑΙΣΩΦΡΟΝΩΣ

a. ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣΕΤΕΙΜΗΣΕΝ
ΚΑΙΜΕΤΗΛΛΑΧΧΟΤΑΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΝ
ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΥΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΝΖΗΣΑΝ
ΤΑΚΟΣΜΙΩΣΑΝΔΡΑΠΕΡΙΤΑΚΟΙΝΑΤΗΣ
ΠΟΛΕΩΣΦΙΛΟΤΕΙΜΟΝΕΝΤΕΑΡΧΑΙΣ
ΚΑΙΥΠΟΣΧΕΣΕΣΙΝΚΑΙΕΡΓΕΠΙΣΤΑΣΙΑΙΣ
ΚΑΙΤΑΙΣΛΟΙΠΑΙΣΕΙΣΤΗΝΠΑΤΡΙΔΑ
ΥΠΗΡΕΣΙΑΙΣΠΡΟΘΥΜΟΝΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ

The Senate and the People have decreed this honour, even after his decease, to Metrodorus Demetrius, son of Metrodorus in consideration of his exemplary life, his munificence in the discharge of his public duties, and his alacrity, manifested alike in the fulfilment of his magisterial functions, in his engagements, his superintendence of public works, and his other services rendered to the city of his birth; [as also] suitable and becoming honours, even after her decease, to Neæra Ammia,* daughter of Menecles, who had been the wife of Metrodorus Demetrius, son of Metrodorus, in consideration of her life of sobriety and decorum.

* Or Ammias; see Böckh, n. 2748, v. 5. I retain the proper feminine termination of the first declension.

Ibid. page 57, *line* 23.

The reader is referred to the notices respecting this form, ΕΠΙΩΣΤΩΝ, in the preceding part of this postscript, p. 72.

Ibid. page 64, *line* 19.

Amongst the series of tituli which I copied from the southern face of the wall encircling the site of the ancient town, there are three of a remarkable character,* recording honours which had been decreed to the three sons of a citizen of eminence named Callias, to wit, Zeno, Callias, and Eudamus, of whom their parents had been successively deprived by a series of casualties (*ξυμφοραί, ἀτυχήματα*), as also the condolence of the authorities, in all the three instances, with certain of the surviving relatives of the deceased.

I select the first of these, in particular, or that which mentions the death of Zeno, as a type of the rest.

The preamble recounted most probably the deserts of Callias, as a patriotic citizen, and includes a recommendation to him of a patient endurance of the calamitous occurrence. The inscription then proceeds:

> . . . . . Be it decreed by the Senate, and
> the People, that honours be paid to Zeno
> the son of Callias, son of Zeno, son of Eudamus,
> even after his decease, and that both statues of him,
> and decorated sculptures, and likenesses, be set up
> in quarters as well consecrated, as of public resort,
> by Callias his father, etc.

Taking this in connexion (which, perhaps, we are authorized to do, from the circumstance of its occupying the same quarter of the wall) with the reliefs I have described as pourtraying the hunting-scene, will it be regarded as an unwarrantable hypothesis to assume, that the deceased Zeno had met his death during the struggle of the chase? Ξυμφορὰ (written *συνφορὰ*) is the term in this inscription, expressive of the event which had elicited this manifestation of their sympathies from the rulers of Aphrodisias, and it is certain that a more

* The reader will find these in Mr. Fellows' Collection, Append. A. Nos. xxiv.–xxvii. pp. 316, ss. They form a part of my series of Inscriptions, which are passing at present through the University Press.

vivid commentary on it could scarcely be conceived than that which we may study in the first of the series of marbles I have described, wherein two of the hunters are engaged in supporting a third, who had evidently fallen a victim to the fury of the wild animal.

The two survivors who succeed at length in effecting the destruction of their savage enemy, may have been the Callias and Eudamus, whose posthumous honours are recorded in the other tituli relative to this family. It is on the probability of this that I rest when I feel inclined to appropriate this series of reliefs (*ἀγάλματα*) to the particular case of the eldest of the three brothers.